

THE **ELECTRICAL WORKER** **OFFICIAL JOURNAL**

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

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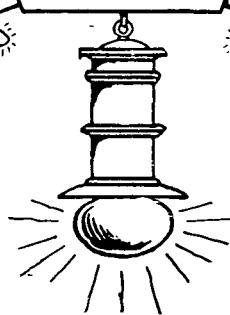
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NOVEMBER, 1910

Addresses on Electrical Workers at
A. F. of L. Convention at St.
Louis, Mo., Nov. 18, 1910

EDITORIAL

Death Benefits

Civic Federation

Labor's Progress

Building Trades Convention

Union Label

EDUCATION

THE ELECTRICAL



WORKER

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OF THE

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

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THE ELECTRICAL WORKER

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Addresses on Electrical Workers at A. F. of L. Convention at St. Louis, Mo., November 18, 1910.

OUR BROTHERHOOD

For the information of our membership in general we are attaching herewith from the proceedings of the Convention of the A. F. of L. the speeches and arguments made at the Convention in relation to our organization. It will be seen from these that the trade union movement will not recognize nor tolerate secession and the Convention went on record by a vote of 12,163 to 2,954 in refusing to recognize secessionism in any way. The trade union movement has been built up by a recognition of the fundamental principles and an observance of these principles by the men of labor, and it would, indeed, be a sad day if these principles were to be lost sight of or ignored.

DELEGATE DUFFY (FRANK)

Yesterday I asked a favor of the convention and I am thankful to the convention for granting it to me. I asked to be allowed before I left the city to present my side of the work of the committee, so far as the Electrical Workers' dispute is concerned. The committee appointed at Toronto did the best they could under the circumstances, and they were the three best chums anyone ever saw. They differed some, however, in their opinion, and no doubt still differ. By difference of opinion you get the best there is in us. I find the delegates on the floor of this convention differ in their opinions. I have listened for the last couple of days and have found that some national officers of high standing, in my estimation for one, have peculiar ideas relative to the situation. I heard the expression

used on this floor "throw both of them out." It was a kind of a surprise to me, because they are no "both" in; there is one organization in; there is only one organization to throw out.

At the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor, to which I was a delegate, I took particular interest in this dispute, because the organization I represent was involved, and is involved today. In some cities our men are out with one organization of electrical workers, and less than a hundred miles away our men are out with the other organization. In Denver an agreement was entered into and signed by both organizations, with both sections of the one organization. Disputes, lawsuits, etc. then had to end, according to that agreement. We thought they would end. But on my first visit to Springfield I found they had not



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ended, that they had only begun. I found that what was signed was not signed in earnest and was not signed in good faith by some, because I got documents afterwards that proved that. I have the documents here. The convention was in November 1908. I have here the appearance and joinder as plaintiff, by Local Union No. of, in the Court of Common Pleas of Cleveland, Ohio, in the case of Louis Geib, etc., et al., Plaintiffs, vs. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, et al., Defendants.

"Now comes Local Union No. of the defendant, The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and by leave of court enters its appearance and joins as plaintiff in the above entitled action, and avers and says that it is a Local Union of said defendant Brotherhood in all respects similar to and similarly situated with said plaintiff Local Union No. 39, and is located at..... and that the members of this Local Union No. are too numerous to bring upon the record, and Local Union No. therefore appears in this action by duly authorized by said Local Union so to do.

"And this plaintiff says that it has read the second amended and supplemental petition of the plaintiff, Louis Geib and Local Union No. 39 and believes and avers that all and singular the statements and allegations of said second amended and supplemental petition are true, and this plaintiff hereby adopts, joins in and re-avers all and singular said statements and allegations.

"And this plaintiff says that it has always observed all the provisions of the Constitution of said Brotherhood and has always promptly paid its dues as the same became due and payable, and that ever since the holding of said convention in St. Louis, it has promptly from month to month paid all its dues to J. W. Murphy, Grand Secretary of said Brotherhood, and in so doing has always acted in good faith in the belief, and still believing, that said J. W. Murphy was the duly elected and qualified Grand Secretary of said Brotherhood, and the only person lawfully authorized to receive such dues.

"And this plaintiff says that said defendants, Peter W. Collins and F. J. McNulty and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (as represented by them in claiming to be its Secretary and President, as aforesaid), are taking steps to suspend, disbar and expel this Local Union from said Brotherhood, and threaten to suspend, disbar and expel this Local Union from said Brotherhood, and

to forfeit its charter and to deprive it of all its advantages as a member thereof, and, unless restrained by this Honorable Court, will suspend, disbar and expel this Local Union from said Brotherhood and forfeit its charter and deprive it of all benefits arising from its membership of said Brotherhood; and that this plaintiff will thereby be irreparably injured and damaged, and is without remedy in the premises, except through the intervention of the equitable powers of this Honorable Court.

"Wherefore this plaintiff joins in the prayer of said Second Amended and Supplemental Petition, and especially prays that said defendants, The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, F. J. McNulty and Peter W. Collins, may be enjoined and restrained from suspending, disbarring or expelling this Local Union from said Brotherhood, and from forfeiting its charter, and from taking any step whatsoever for the purpose of suspending, disbarring or expelling this Local Union, or of forfeiting its charter, and for all other proper relief.

.....
County of.....
The State of....., ss:

....., being duty sworn, makes oath and says that he is the..... of the plaintiff Local Union No. of duly authorized in the premises of said Local Union, and that the statements and allegations contained in the foregoing joinder with the plaintiffs, Louis Geib and Local Union No. 39, in the Second Amended and Supplemental Petition of said plaintiffs in said action are true as this affiant verily believes.

Subscribed in my presence by the said and by him sworn to before me this..... day of A. D. 1909.

.....
Notary Public.

And this in the year 1909, after the action of the Denver Convention. I also find in the official Journal of the Reid faction in the September issue, 1909, almost a year after the Denver Convention took action under the caption "Joiners."

That was after the Denver Convention. After the Toronto Convention an action was taken that the suit must be stopped. We found that two days before the committee held its first meeting in Springfield, December 9th, three local unions of the Reid-Murphy faction became parties to the suit. Another violation of the Toronto agreement.

At the first meeting in Springfield, when we met on the 9th, I wanted to learn more about this dispute. As my report says, I knew almost absolutely nothing about it. I thought it was an internal affair, a family fight, something that could

be settled among themselves. We decided there without objection on anyone's part that I could go to the McNulty offices to get information on any subject. The same right was granted Brother Urick. It was agreed among ourselves that Brother Frey could go to both any time. Brother Urick said, "Brother Duffy, you can go to the Reid offices." I said, "Brother Urick, you can also go yourself to the McNulty offices." We decided that the committee as a whole would visit both offices. The idea was that perhaps, as I was selected by McNulty in Toronto, I could get more information by going myself to his offices, that perhaps Urick could get more information himself by going to the Reid offices, and that Brother Frey, who was representing the American Federation of Labor, was a free lance and could go anywhere he liked and get all the information he desired.

We met in the St. Nicholas Hotel. Brother Frey laid down the law as to what the Denver agreement and the Toronto agreement meant. He said the lawsuit must be stopped and the money tied up in the banks must be liberated; that if there were any suits on either side they must be withdrawn. They agreed to that. Everybody agreed to it. McNulty and Collins told us they did not have any lawsuits to withdraw; that immediately after the Denver Convention, or before the convention adjourned, they telegraphed to Springfield to comply with the agreement they had entered into, and they had no lawsuit. However, the committee insisted that lawsuits, no matter who had them, must be withdrawn. We laid down the instructions from the American Federation of Labor as we understood them, that the lawsuits in the case, no matter who had them, or whoever was involved, must be withdrawn and the funds must be liberated. The lawsuits were injunctions tying up \$80,000 in Cleveland. The withdrawal of the lawsuits naturally meant the liberation of the money, at least I thought so at that time, but I found out different afterwards.

They made good promises to us. At that time we got them to give us orders on the banks in Springfield where monies were tied up under protest from Mr. McNulty's side and from the Reid side. The committee at that time insisted that if they intended to act in good faith they should give the committee the documents to hold for a certain time liberating that money. That money was not to be used by either of the organizations, but we were to hold the instructions they gave us to present to the banks until the proper time came. I thought they were both in

earnest at that time and that both were entering into the work in good faith.

Our second visit to Springfield was in February, about the 9th. I was very determined and distinct in laying down, as I understood, the terms of the Denver and Toronto agreement. I asked what had been done. The committee wanted to know. Absolutely nothing had been done. It was then I said, with clenched fist on the table in the room where we met, "You must comply with the orders of the Denver and Toronto conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Don't talk to me about conventions of the Electrical Workers or any other conventions. First you do your share and then I, as one, and the rest of the committee will do ours."

At that meeting they wanted a convention called, an early convention, without complying with the agreements they had entered into. I was distinct and determined in laying down my position to both, so there would be no misunderstanding so far as I was concerned. I thought as we had got along so well in the first meeting, and if they knew what this committee meant, that we were not to be trifled with, and would get to business, they would get down to business. At that meeting Secretary Collins of the McNulty side of the Electrical Workers, said he received a notice from his lawyers in Cleveland that three local unions had become parties to the suit on February 7, 1910. He said he had the letter, and in order that I might be satisfied he said to the committee and in the presence of all there that he would show it to me if I would step to one side. I stepped one side and he showed me the letter. It was dated February 7th. That put us in a rather peculiar position. We commenced to feel that we were not being fairly dealt with, that somebody was doing the double-cross act with us. Both sides called up Cleveland. McNulty called over the long-distance phone, and when he got his lawyers on the other end I was called to the 'phone. Mr. Stewart, the attorney, was at the other end of the 'phone. This was at 10:10 a. m., February 12th, at the St. Nicholas Hotel. He gave me the following information. I have it here just as I jotted it down at the telephone:

"Nothing on court docket to show that anything has been done by the Reid organization to dissolve the suits up to the present time—10:10 a. m. Saturday, February 12, 1910."

I asked what he meant by the Reid side becoming parties to the suit February 7th. He said it was a mistake of the stenographer, that it was December 7th that three local unions not parties to the suit previously became parties to it. I asked him, "What effect will this have on the case as

it now stands and on the suit?" He said, "This will have no effect on the suit except to increase the number of local unions to the suit, and their consent will have to be obtained with the rest before the suits can be dissolved."

I went back and so reported to the committee. I was afterwards told I made very elaborate apologies for the mistake made in the letter saying that this occurred on February 7th. I had no apologies to make for the mistakes of others. At that meeting we were hounded to decide on a convention, and when a convention of the Electrical Workers should be held. We had not gone far enough into the matter to find out a good many things we wanted to know; but we had gone far enough to find out that there was personal feeling, bitter animosity, jealousy, and every other adjective you could use couldn't describe the matter. We came to the conclusion: "The committee has come to the conclusion that a convention must be held before a satisfactory amalgamation of both factions of the Electrical Workers can take place, and that this convention must be held at the earliest possible date. We want, if we possibly can have it, before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor—this one. This action on the part of the committee being contingent upon the assurance of the attorneys of both factions that the injunctions which at the present time tie up the Brotherhood funds in the Cleveland banks and all suits at law tying up funds in any other city be dissolved. Furthermore, that these funds, after being so released, shall be placed under the charge and control of this committee, to be placed in a trust fund to the credit of the International Brotherhood in such a manner that they can be legally transferred to the duly authorized officers of the amalgamated association."

Does this decision of the committee say when and where the convention shall be held? No. We decided a convention should be held. We did not name the place or the time; yet it has been tried to be forced upon us when that convention should be held. We received from the lawyers representing the Reid organization propositions that we turned down. Brother Frey and Urick in their report the other day said the committee was unanimous on that. Correct. The committee was unanimous in a great many things, but not all. They say in that proposition: "It is hereby agreed by all the parties whose names are hereunto subscribed that the said committee of the American Federation of Labor, above named, shall select a date not later than the 15th day of July, 1910, upon which date the convention of the International

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall be called in Springfield, Ill." If we decided that a convention should be held it must be held before July 15th, and in Springfield, Ill.

It went on: "It is further agreed that pending the call of said convention and the election of officers by said convention and the perfection of the organization of said organization of electrical workers, as herein provided, all of said monies in banks in Cleveland, Ohio, and elsewhere shall remain as they are, untouched and undisturbed, and that no person shall have a right to withdraw the same, or in any way use or control the same, and no act or proceeding or entry shall be had or made in said action above referred to, except to enter said action settled in case the locals of said Brotherhood shall ratify this agreement, as above provided."

They came in with this proposition altogether different from the agreement entered into and confirmed by the Denver and Toronto conventions of the American Federation of Labor. We would not stand for it. We knew the position it would place us in. A convention called for a certain date in Springfield, the money tied up, the lawsuits not withdrawn! What was to pay the expenses of the convention? I said, "Not the carpenters' money." I said, "Not the molders' money." And I went further and said, "Not the cigarmakers' money, it must be the money of the Electrical Workers that is tied up in Cleveland. You must withdraw those suits and you must liberate that money so you can have a convention. Here is one who says we will never hold a convention until those things are done. Now go on and do your part and we will do ours."

We received faithful promises that they would. They wanted us to adjourn and go to Cleveland so we might see the McNulty lawyers and the Reid lawyers. I refused. I had given all the time I could to the Electrical Workers' dispute. I had to attend to some matters in connection with our own convention, and I could not go from Springfield, Ill., to Cleveland, Ohio, and then return. I was on my way to Des Moines to make arrangements for our own biennial convention. I told them I was going to Des Moines, but after I had done my work there I would be again at their service and would go to Cleveland. On the 22d or the 23d of February I was in Cleveland and was at the Euclid Hotel. We had the representatives of the organizations there, and again found that nothing had been done. Unfortunately, the lawyer, Mr. Starr, died. I was introduced to him that day for the first time,

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and he seemed a mighty fine fellow. That afternoon at 2 o'clock we were to hold our conference with the lawyers, with both parties afterwards, and then with the lawyers and both parties. The Reid lawyer, on his way to that meeting, died suddenly in the bank. We were all shocked. Mr. Reid said—and I want to do all the credit I can to him: "We will have to get another lawyer. We cannot very well proceed any farther."

Brother Frey and Brother Urick recognized that fact. So we adjourned, but before doing so we again plainly told them that they must comply with the specifications of the Denver and Toronto agreement before the committee would go farther, and again we had their faithful promises that they would. We adjourned. On March 10th, I think, or near that date, we came back again to the Euclid Hotel. Although I was busy with my own organization, my old side partner, Bill Huber, here, said "go," and he assisted me to do it. Again I was there to do the best I could and when the questions were put to them, "What has been done? How far have we proceeded? Have the suits been withdrawn? Is the money liberated? we got the old answer, "No." Complications arose and they could not do this and they could not do that and could not do the other thing.

I could see then there was no use going any farther with the proposed arbitration plan to bring about arbitration, that it was a waste of time. Nobody can say I did not give sufficient time. Four months, four meetings at a cost of over \$800 to the American Federation of Labor, and nothing done, nothing accomplished, but your committee doing its dead level best to try to bring about an understanding.

Mr. McNulty served on us a document. I believe I mentioned it in my report. On March 10th the special committee received a letter from President McNulty dated March 8th, informing the said committee that he and his organization had complied in every particular with the terms of the Denver agreement and dismissed the one suit they had on the docket, and stood ready and willing to comply with any further orders of the committee, in accordance with the terms of the Denver and Toronto agreement. He went farther—he told us that the other side had absolutely done nothing.

In a communication dated March 11th he again refers to the communication he sent us. And this is one of the points on which I disagreed with the other two members of the committee. When the complaint was made no action was taken by that committee on that letter. He

said under date of March 11th when he notified the committee, when he was asked to put in writing his withdrawal from the arbitration plan: "From the very day of the Denver agreement the Reid faction has done nothing either to help a settlement, dismiss the suits, establish the trust fund, or in any manner to harmonize the Electrical Workers. On the contrary, they have filed new cross-petitions in the suit at Cleveland and have instituted new suits at Springfield. Even after the Toronto agreement was made they continued to file cross-petitions in the Cleveland suits, all of which shows that they do not intend that you shall make any final and decisive holding in this matter. Instead of complying with the Denver and Toronto agreements and going forward in good faith with this arbitration, the other side now comes forward with new plans, which are wholly contrary to the letter and spirit of the Denver and Toronto agreements."

And yet that committee did not take any action. That was the time action should have been taken. When the lawyers appeared before us at the fourth meeting Mr. McNulty's side was accused of having a cross-petition in there. That was something new to me. I called Mr. McNulty aside. I said, "You have led me to believe you have no suits, no cross-petitions, no protests. Now the lawyers on the other side say you have a cross-petition. Have you?" He said, "No; we have no cross-petition, we have no suits of any kind. You can go to our lawyers yourself and find out." I said, "I will do more than that; if it is necessary, I will go to the courts while I am in Cleveland and find out." I did go to the McNulty lawyers and say, "You heard what was said this morning by the other side, that Mr. McNulty has a cross-petition. Is there a cross-petition? Is there one, two, three or twelve?" They said, "No cross-petition, no suits of any kind. All we have to do is to defend the suits when they come up in court, the injunction proceedings that come up from time to time. Mr. McNulty, at my own request, when they came up, had them postponed. I wanted him to give the committee a chance to do something." And he did have them postponed, and his lawyers had to appear in court. All they had to do was to go in there and defend themselves.

I came back again and told the committee "no cross-petition." I was again told there was. Delegates, I began to get doubtful. I thought, "What kind of a game am I up against?" They held that there was a cross-petition from Mr. McNulty, and they held on until the case came up in court in May; and when Mr. McNulty's lawyers asked the lawyers on

the Reid side, "What about that cross-petition of yours? Where is it? Dig it up; we want to know something about it," the lawyers had to admit it was a mistake on their part, it was an error, there was no cross-petition by Mr. McNulty.

Is it any wonder I got sick and tired of the job? That day we got a verbal statement from the lawyers representing the Reid faction (I mention it in my report), "The lawsuits must stand." When they found the committee had some backbone and grit and determination, then they came in with their propositions. When they told us the suits could not be withdrawn and the money liberated, and your committee said it could be done, they commenced to crawl, they commenced to make some sort of propositions. Those propositions I would not agree to. I would never agree to a proposition except on the terms stipulated in the Denver and Toronto agreements that were concurred in by the American Federation of Labor; that I would not attend a convention if one was called, except under those terms and conditions; that I would not be a party to calling a convention until the decks were clear—that is the expression I used. The decks were not cleared, and never have been cleared. I said I would not attend a convention if one was called under those circumstances.

I talked the matter over with the committee. If a convention was called and we went into it with one hand as long as the other, must we not have some plans to amalgamate? That would be the first thing asked by both sides. The question would be asked, "What terms, conditions, stipulations, does this committee propose or suggest whereby amalgamation will take place that is satisfactory to all concerned or to the majority?" I said, "Here is one that is not going in with one hand as long as the other. We must have some terms of agreement, some terms to pull them together, to amalgamate them." I said to the other members of the committee, "You had better put on a coat of mail, or the whole lot of us will be electrified."

The question of a convention came up. You know we decided on the convention. One of the big stumbling blocks in our way was this: Although the Reid factions had injunctions tying up \$80,000 of the funds of the Brotherhood in Cleveland, they manipulated things so they got \$13,500 from the Guardians Savings and Trust Company of money that they tied up by injunction process so that President McNulty and his crowd could not get any of it. I understand they went to other banks and were refused. They

were successful in this case. I don't know how they manipulated it, but they got it just the same, illegally or otherwise; money that belonged to the International Brotherhood, and the international is the organization represented by Mr. McNulty. They got that \$13,500 and spent it. That bank found out afterwards that they had paid out \$13,500 illegally, and they were held responsible, and were continually after Reid and Murphy for this \$13,500. They have now become parties to the suits and have notified all the other banks, just as you trades unionists notify each other. I understand all the other banks have become parties to the suits, and will not pay out one red cent. They are all nervous relative to the \$80,000 until the courts say to whom it must be paid. That will bring up the whole entire case, injunctions and all, and when the courts say, "McNulty, it is yours," then the other side is down and out; and if the courts say, "Reid, it is yours," then McNulty you are down and out.

I was requested often by my colleagues on the committee to cancel that \$13,500. I had nothing to do with cancelling \$13,500. That money belonged to the International Brotherhood. I claim it is a part of the \$80,000, and that \$13,500 must be put back where it belongs to make this \$80,000. I said when that was put back the committee would go ahead, or some better proposition had to be made by somebody as to the disposition of the \$13,500. They said, "Let us go to the convention that is to be held and let that body settle it." They said, "Let the money remain in the bank, and let the lawsuits stand." It makes no difference what action this convention takes, or this committee of ours, if we would get together again, or any special committee, or the executive council of the American Federation of Labor shall. We may resolve, and resolve, and re-resolve, but we cannot liberate those funds in the banks of Cleveland at the present time. It has got to such a stage that nothing but the courts can release the funds.

Talk about a convention! I was willing that a convention should be held. I thought in the early stages of this dispute, in fact, at the first and second meetings, that a convention must be held in order to give the members of the Electrical Workers on both sides a chance to air their grievances in that convention, to get down to the cancer and cut it out, roots and all. I thought that, but I was confronted afterwards with other difficulties. We speak of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. We speak of them in the Denver and Toronto agreements, and we speak of their laws.

The question was put to us, "What laws? What International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers?" I look upon the International Brotherhood as the one affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department. But there is one branch that has left us that calls itself the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with a journal called the "Electrical Worker," the same as the journal of the McNulty organization, and with an office in Springfield, the same place the McNulty office is located.

Then they come down to the question of how the convention should be called, under what terms, under whose authority? What authority did the committee have (a carpenter, a molder and a cigar maker representing the American Federation of Labor) to call a special convention of an international organization? The international convention of that organization could only be called as specified in the laws of that international organization. It is true Mr. McNulty could get five unions from five different districts to petition for it. It is true Mr. Reid could do likewise. That would not make it legal. We could send out the call and have the convention in Springfield, St. Louis, New York, Indianapolis, but it would be an illegal convention. The laws of Mr. Reid's organization have been changed since they separated from the parent body. They stick to their laws. Delegates can only be seated on the floor of a convention according to their laws. Here comes the law of the international organization represented by Mr. McNulty, and delegates can only be seated on the floor of the convention legally and officially according to that law. What does that law say? That a member of an organization to be a delegate must be a dues-paying member into the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for twelve months to be entitled to a seat there.

Then the question was put to us, "What about those who broke away?" They are not part and parcel of the organization. Can they come in there and sit in that convention wherever it may be called? A man from either side could get up, go out and enjoin the convention. We are bad enough now, but we would be a thousand times worse then." I have my own ideas. They may be wrong. I had my own ideas then, but I was the minority of the committee, although I always looked upon myself as the rank and file. The committee could do something. The committee had a plan of some kind, or an agreement, that would have brought about peace and harmony in that organization and in the labor movement. At the second meeting, when I placed the matter clearly, plainly and distinctly before the committee and before the lawyers, that it was not the

intention of the Reid organization to withdraw the lawsuits or liberate the fund, I insisted that something must be done. I gave all my time and attention to the matter. I insisted, and the other members of the committee stood with me, that something be done. Nothing was done, nothing was attempted to be done; verbal statements were made that they were trying to do this, that and the other thing, but still nothing was done.

We are told in the report of the majority of the committee that a statement was submitted to the committee on the 11th of March. I believe it is incorporated in their report. It was after I had turned in my resignation on the 11th of March. Up to that time we only had the verbal proposition made to us by the lawyers. It was then, Mr. Chairman, when I got that far and saw that nothing had been accomplished, and seeing all the tactics that were being used, I began to be doubtful. When I said to the committee, "Keep your hands out of local affairs; they are none of our business; we did not come to Cleveland to settle local affairs, and we are not going to New York or Buffalo or anywhere else to settle local matters; let us settle the international question," I realized when we got into local entanglements we would never get out of them. I tried to keep as close as I could to the Denver and Toronto agreements. It was then, when it appeared plain to me that nothing had been done and nothing was intended to be done, I served notice on the other members of the committee—not resigning from the committee—but I served notice that I would not meet in Cleveland or anywhere else on that Electrical Workers' dispute or trouble until the terms of the Denver and Toronto agreements had been complied with by Geib, Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and everybody else interested in it. When I was notified to that effect by the American Federation of Labor I would be in whatever city they decided to meet in.

But when both sections were notified, when the lawyers were notified, when the communication was being read, then I got my lambasting. Lawyers of the criminal court style, with arms swinging over their heads, tearful eyes and all that, said I was unfair. I, a trades unionist, unfair! I was blocking the way; I was the bad man; I was doing everything to stop progress. One went so far, with hands up, as to wish to God Sam Gompers was in that room then. I said I wished to God he was. When I was told I was unfair I said, "I will not stand in the way. If I am unfair I will resign. I have gone the limit. I have done everything I could. An unfair man will not stand in this position." So I resigned

from the committee. And I have got my lambasting since. I am a quitter. I am a runaway. I am a bolter. I am a traitor to the trades union movement. That is what the other side have told me I am. I am a minion of McNulty. I am a bulldozer of Sam Gompers. I never attempted to bulldoze you, Sam, and I never intend to. You are the wrong man to bulldoze, and if any one thinks they have a chicken in me to bulldoze, I want to tell them they have the wrong man.

I have had all these things thrown at me, and worse. They did not hurt me a whole lot. I am ready to take care of myself. My character was assailed so much that they could not get anything else except this, which they put in their February journal: "In order to show the character of Arbitrator Duffy, who was one of the committee appointed to settle the controversy in our Brotherhood, we are printing in full his article, 'Union Degenerates,' in this issue of the Worker." This was in March, after the "bolting" business. I read the article. It was a good article, but I never wrote it. I don't want to claim credit for writing that which is not mine. I am not a parasite. I do want credit for what I write. I do want credit for what I say, and I am not going to run away from it either. "Union Degenerates," in the February issue of the journal. I said, "When I was dreaming I wrote that article." I got the December issue of the Boot and Shoe Worker. Mr. Tobin will recognize it. It says in the table of contents "Special Articles," "High Prices and the People," "The Right to Arbitrate." "Union Degenerates." Ask Secretary Baine of the Boot and Shoe Workers who wrote "Union Degenerates." It was more applicable to his own organization. I never wrote it. I knew nothing about it; but that is like some more of their work. And then in their editorial they say: "In order to show the character of Arbitrator Duffy, they publish his article, 'Union Degenerates.'" It is such affairs as this—I was going to use an adjective, but I won't—but it is such things as this that caused a great deal of this trouble.

Let us try this case on its merits and get down to business. Here we have an

organization, the McNulty faction, that has been loyal and faithful to the American Federation of Labor, that has complied with the Denver and Toronto agreements in every manner, shape and form. They asked the committee to point out to them anything they had not done up to that time that they should have done in order to comply with these agreements. An organization that has paid its tax assessment, that is in good standing in this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and then there are some men who will say, "Oust them all from the American Federation of Labor." What is to save—a year hence, or two—what is to save any other organization that has a disorganized element, a set of disruptionists and discontents from having them go on one side, form a little organization, come in and protest my seat, as has been done in the case of Mr. McNulty, Mr. Collins and others; the American Federation of Labor taking it up, the fight becoming general, and they say to the carpenters, who have been loyal and faithful and true, to leave with the discontents? Don't recognize dissatisfaction, discontent, secession of any kind. Let the American Federation of Labor put its foot down good and hard and say, "Secessionists, we will have nothing to do with you. We have no place for you in the American labor movement. Don't come to us. Settle your disputes with the parent body, and then come to us with them as delegates to represent your organization in the American Federation of Labor."

Is it any wonder that I asked the local unions that were misled to apply for charters to the International Brotherhood of the craft they are following, whether as linemen, wiremen, inside men or telephone men, or whatever they may be? Is it any wonder I said, knowing the dispute as it exists, without consulting McNulty, "You must put those organizations when they come back legitimately in good standing, give them a charter free, and as soon as they are back with charters, they must be put in good standing, just as they left." That is the position for the American Federation of Labor to take. We cannot stand for secession. I never have, and I never will.

DELEGATE WILSON (United Mine Workers)

I have the same conception of the powers of this body that my friend Mr. Furuseth has, that it is a voluntary association of the different bodies of which it is composed; that there are certain powers that are delegated to it and those powers it can exercise; that there are other powers that are not delegated to it, and the powers that are not delegated to

it it cannot exercise. But while I have the same conception of the policy of this body that he has, I arrive at a different conclusion as to the wisdom and the justice of exercising those powers on the lines suggested by his motion.

In the first place, in this voluntary association met here for a definite purpose, to my mind it is wrong, it is an

injustice to an affiliated organization that has not violated the laws of this body to expel it from its affiliation with our organization. For that reason I am opposed to the motion as presented by my friend Mr. Furuseth. I am also opposed to the amendments that have been offered by Mr. Lynch and Mr. Lewis. The difference between the situation as it exists at this time and the situation existing at Denver and at Toronto is principally in the fact that at those two conventions there was a mutual agreement entered into by both of the organizations that are in this dispute, and as a result of that mutual agreement the appointment of that committee was bought about. I believe you will agree that the appointment would not have taken place but for the fact that both parties agreed to the appointment.

I come from one of the trade organiza-

tions that has as many and vigorous disputes within itself as any organization in the country, and we would resent, as I believe every member of an international organization would resent, the interference on the part of the American Federation of Labor with our trade autonomy, with our internal affairs, and I am absolutely opposed at this time or any other time to the American Federation of Labor taking a position that places it where it will interfere with the internal affairs of the organization.

We would not wait for you to pass a motion to revoke our charter if you came into our organization and undertook to run our affairs. We would withdraw rather than permit you to do it, and every other international organization would do the same thing under those circumstances.

DELEGATE TOBIN (Boot and Shoe Workers)

I question the authority of this convention to take any such action as cancelling the charter. I base my opinion on the fact that in the Minneapolis convention I happened to be a member of the Committee on Adjustment that reported to the convention the revocation of the Brewery Workers' charter in the event of their failure to carry out this discussion here that there are some delegates at least who were favorable to the Brewers' contention at that time, and against the proposition looking for the revocation of that charter under any circumstances, who are today arguing in favor of the revocation of the charter of the present Electrical Workers' Union represented in this convention. I find it difficult to harmonize the arguments and views of these gentlemen on this question. It is possible to resist by every means the revocation of a charter one year, and possible for the same delegates to advocate the revocation of another international charter another year for exactly the same reasons and the same causes.

I believe there is a solution, and a very easy and practical solution, of this problem right in this convention now. I believe that altogether too much consideration has been given the seceders. We have pursued the policy of endeavoring to conciliate seceders. What is the re-

sult? That conciliation is taken to mean weakness on the part of the American Federation of Labor or on the part of the international union that recognizes secession in any manner. We have in our organization today a few seceders, and they make the argument that, "after our great union, based upon low dues and strikes without any financial benefits, has reached a membership greater than that of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union affiliated with the A. F. of L, the A. F. of L will revoke the Boot and Shoe Workers' charter and give it to our organization, namely the seceders." That is the kind of argument the seceders in our organization is fed upon, and they are foolish enough to think there is some truth in it. They base their belief on the fact that this Federation does give them reason, year after year, to believe that some time in the future this condition will be brought about.

It is not a question of numbers, but a question of principle in dealing with secession. As soon as this convention declared that now and hereafter no consideration will be given secessionists from that moment we have served notice upon the seceders that there is no comfort for them in this American Federation of Labor. Then you will have stopped secession in a practical way. Until you have done that you are wasting time dealing with this question, and you are piling up complication for the future that will rise up to damn you in every convention from this time on. Draw the line today and declare to the world that secession in any form or for any excuse whatever will not be recognized in this American Federation of Labor Convention.

DELEGATE COLLINS (Electrical Workers)

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor: There is always a difference that can easily be distinguished between logic and sophistry, and when sophistry undertakes to take the place of logic, then we must appeal, according to the laws of common sense, to that sentiment in all men that can appreciate the distinction between a principle and an opinion.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers seated in this organization is a constituent part of the great labor movement of America, and the delegates representing that body will not allow sophistry to prevail when logic and principle and law ought to be maintained.

I care not who the delegate may be, what his opinions are, how big he thinks he is, he cannot get away with something that is not sound when men of calm reason and judgment can see on the face of it there is something malicious behind even the sophistry itself.

I never thought I would hear a man one day take the position of saying, as did Delegate Lewis: "Throw out an international organization" that is just as good as his, with representatives just as honest and with men representing them with just as much character and integrity as he can boast of.

It is not a question of personality. It is a question of principle. Do you think that men are sacrificing their time and their effort simply to get the dirty dollar, which he accused them of, which happened to be attached to the position of an officer in a labor organization? It is not necessary for me to appeal to the common sense of any man on that issue, and I am not going to be drawn into any extraneous argument.

The question at issue is simply this, and there is only one of two logical positions to take: Our organization is here by right, not here by force and makes no threat and never has. It is the friend of the labor movement and the American Federation of Labor, and no man, no matter who he may be, can stand up and say that the trade union movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, is a joke (as did Delegate Hayes of the Miners) and get away with it without at least an answer from the Electrical Workers' delegation.

My friends, if the American Federation of Labor is a joke, then it has kept men studying and figuring for thirty years to beat it down; and if it is a joke, those men who have been seeking, inside and outside, to disrupt it evidently have not done much laughing in the meantime.

I want to say to you men, you delegates representing the entire Federation of Labor in the labor movement of this country, that every organization has its laws; that laws must be maintained; that

this Federation has its laws and they must be maintained; that when men attempt to bring in matters not relevant, then the time to put down your foot is the time that is opportune, and that time is now. We don't want to carry on a fight this way for years and disrupt the Electrical Workers. We want the Electrical Workers organized throughout the country, as they ought to be, and when we went to Denver we did not stand in an arbitrary manner, saying "We won't agree." No, we said "We are willing, for unity and harmony, to meet these men and sign an agreement with them." And we met and signed an agreement, and the ink was not dry on the agreement when they protested the checks of this delegation, thinking they would strand them in Denver, although the American Federation of Labor had endorsed those checks.

Therefore, I say, gentlemen, delegates to this convention, we have been desirous of unity. We went out of our way to see if an agreement could be signed. That agreement was repudiated. The Executive Council investigated, they found it was repudiated and they sustained us; they were an impartial tribunal, having nothing at interest except the great good of the American labor movement. And, gentlemen, we went to Toronto and overtures were again made and we agreed to enter into an agreement. You have heard the facts of that agreement here today.

Two opportunities were presented. We have been fair up to the last limit. The time has come when the laws of the American Federation of Labor must be announced to the world as laws that mean something and not laws, as the gentleman said, that are a joke.

These laws have made possible this great representative gathering. The principles underlying the labor movement are sound, and they will go on irrespective of the desires of some individuals to tear them down.

Therefore I say there is one of two things to do, put the motion to revoke the charter, and if you believe we are wrong, cast us out; if you believe we are right, sustain us; and then tell the world that the Electrical Workers' laws have been obeyed and respected their own laws, and that the Executive Council will use its good offices at any time so that all Electrical Workers can come into the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and become trade unionists. Then we will have real success and go down the line shoulder to shoulder without having our time taken up by secession movements. This is a question of secession against trades unionism. Which will prevail? I want to state frankly now that our organization first, last and all the time stands under the banner of trades unionism against the banner of secession.

EDITORIAL

PETER W. COLLINS

DEATH BENEFITS

The attention of our membership is again called to the splendid system of death benefits provided under Section 1 of Art. XII, which reads as follows:

Sec. 1, Art. XII.—An assessment of fifty cents to be levied on members of the I. B. E. W. in the months of January and July each year, said assessment to be placed in Death Benefit fund.

It will be seen from the above clause in the Constitution that an automatic assessment is levied twice a year in July and January and the receipts from this assessment go into the death benefit fund with five cents (5c) of per capita tax. This fund has been established since March 1, 1910 under the provisions of the Constitution, and since that period we have paid five \$300 benefits, three \$250 benefits, three \$200 benefits, five \$150 benefits, and twenty-seven \$100 benefits.

For the information and assistance of financial secretaries, a circular letter directed to them for the attention of the members was sent, advising of the necessity of seeing to it that members protect their benefits by compliance with the provisions of the Constitution in the payment of the assessment, and they were also advised that unless those members who had thus far failed to pay their assessment previous to the levying of the next assessment in January, 1911, that per capita on such members who fail to pay such assessment will be returned to the financial secretaries, as the Constitution makes it mandatory on all members to pay the assessment levied.

It is, however, gratifying to note that only very few have failed to comply with the requirements of the Constitution in the payment of the death benefit assessment levied under the Constitution in July, 1910. The system of benefits provided under that section of the Constitution makes it the most valued and cheapest protection in force in any organization in the country. It is, therefore, essential that each member should see to it that his assessment is paid without delay after the levying of same in January so that his benefits may be in full force and he be a participant in the full rights of membership as provided by the Constitution.

It occasionally happens that through oversight or negligence a financial secretary fails to collect from the member the assessment due or to remit same. It is therefore absolutely necessary for the protection of the member's benefits that each promptly pay his assessment and meet his obligation without delay as he is the one who benefits by it. The international secretary feels it absolutely necessary for the protection of the benefits of the members of the brotherhood to advise the financial secretaries of such members upon whom assess-

ment has not been paid and to further advise that unless assessment levied under the July assessment and due are not paid previous to the levying of the January assessment that per capita on such members will be returned.

If any member has failed to pay the July assessment he should at once see to it that the same is paid to the financial secretary and forwarded to the international office without delay.

**CIVIC
FEDERATION**

The service which the Civic Federation is doing through its various departments is an important one and of considerable assistance in the work of the trade union movement. The trade agreement department, under the efficient management of John Mitchell, has made possible a recognition of the great value of trade agreements.

Many organizations have entered into agreements with employers through the medium of the trade agreement department of the Civic Federation and these agreements are of great value to the men of labor. It makes possible a better understanding of their aims and purposes on the part of the employer and the recognition by the employer of the necessity of peace and justice in industry.

The time has gone by when an employer can say that trade unions are not to be recognized, and the Civic Federation has helped materially in showing to the employer the untenable position which he had previously occupied.

The trade union movement believes in trade agreements; it stands for conciliation and arbitration, and it believes and advocates the recognition by both capital and labor of the rights and duties of each to the other.

Not only has the National Civic Federation been of service in the field of trade agreements and the bringing together of employer and employee for the purpose of entering into such agreements but its influence has always been of great value in advocating remedial legislation.

**LABOR'S
PROGRESS**

The recent convention of the A. F. of L., held at St. Louis, demonstrates the strength and far reaching influence of the trade union movement of the United States and the work done at that Convention was of such a nature as to reflect credit on the men of labor and their representatives.

The trade union movement is a constructive movement with a foundation sound and solid—a foundation that was built on principles of right and justice; principles that recognize duties and responsibilities as well as rights and the recognition of them.

The representatives of the men of labor at that Convention were a credit not only to the labor movement but to our common citizenship, and the character, ability, and strength of purpose and constancy to principle as manifested in the deliberations of the Convention is a tribute to the labor movement and our country.

It is not too much to say that in no convention held for any purpose in this land of ours could there be gathered a body of men of greater determination for justice—men capable of putting their ideas into words and with the power and ability to intelligently discuss them in detail and at length. The trade union movement is, therefore, to be congratulated on the character of its membership for just so long as it can send men of the type represented at the Convention at St. Louis to deliberate in the work and advancement of labor, just so long will its progress be of a permanent nature.

BUILDING TRADES CONVENTION

We desire to call attention to the report made by President Kirby to the Building Trades Convention held in St. Louis beginning Nov. 28, 1910.

This report, in its recommendations, is very explicit, and we have no doubt but what our members will be interested in reading same:

ELECTRICAL WORKERS' CASE.

"Perhaps nothing has caused the officers of this department and the labor movement more concern than the division in the ranks of the Electrical Workers. The duty of the international movement is very plain in the premises, and in looking back I cannot help but express my opinion to the effect that, had no consideration been given to the secession movement and their membership given to understand that they were in the wrong and would receive no recognition until they associated themselves with the international movement, conditions would be materially better than they are at present.

"Where local Building Trades Councils have been formed we have notified them that the seceding Electrical Workers could not participate in the formation of the Building Trades Councils. We have repeatedly forbidden admission of them into councils, but have taken no action against local Building Trades Councils where the secessionists were seated prior to this communication. I may add at this time, however, that Grand President McNulty did not approve of the course followed, but, in the interests of harmony, he raised no objections, and I feel now that the attitude assumed by him has been the means of strengthening the international organization of Electrical Workers in their position, as they have showed their desire to bring about an adjustment of the difficulty and were willing to waive their undisputed rights in the interest of harmony.

"I feel, however, that this condition cannot go on, and, in my opinion, all local Building Trades Councils where the seceding organization of Electrical Workers are at present affiliated should be instructed to unseat them at once, and to assist the International Electrical Workers in reorganizing the craft.

In the meantime I might add also that I feel that there are many organizations of Electrical Workers who have been led astray through misrepresentation and a lack of opportunity to know the true conditions, and I feel that it

would not be asking too much for the organizers of the various international organizations to explain the situation to their members in the affected localities to the end that all Electrical Workers would be brought into one organization.

It is very dangerous for the international movement that secessionists should be encouraged or given any assistance whatever. Some organizations may feel that they are not affected by the division in the craft above mentioned, but no one can tell when this trouble will arise within the ranks of some other affiliated international, and if a firm and determined stand is taken in this case it may be the means of preventing a recurrence in some other craft. I cannot emphasize this too strongly and urge that the international officers take this home to themselves, and, in the interest of discipline in the ranks of their own organization, do everything in their power for the people who are in need of assistance, assuring them that in case of like trouble the Electrical Workers will never be found wanting."

UNION LABEL

A very interesting document recently issued by the Johns Hopkins press of Baltimore, Md., is that by Professor Ernest R. Spedden entitled "The Trade Union Label." This paper pamphlet covers about 100 pages in thirteen chapters, beginning with the history of the union label, the form of the label, the administration of the label, the financing of the label, the use of the label, the demand for the label, trade jurisdiction and the label, and the legal protection of the label.

It is, indeed, an interesting work in its entirety and one deserving of much interest in the trade union movement. The treatise is scientific in scope and thorough in detail. It could only have been prepared after a thorough analysis and study of the many questions relating to the trade union label, and its preparation reflects credit on the author, who, in his preface, says:

"This monograph is one of a series of investigations into various phases of American trade unionism undertaken by the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. In addition to using the large collection of trade union publications at the Johns Hopkins University, the author has supplemented such documentary information by personal observation and by interviews with the officers of the leading American trade unions in the chief centers of industry in the United States."

ATTENTION

All building trade mechanics are warned to stay away from Tampa, Fla. There are more building trades mechanics in Tampa than work.

Hundreds of carpenters, painters, plasterers, cement workers, laters, brick-terers, cement workers, lathers, brick-metal workers, electrical workers and other trades are walking the streets.

Pay no attention to advertisements for men, these advertisements are inserted so as to flood the labor market.

Don't come to Tampa with the object of getting work, as you will only swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Issued by order of Tampa Building Trades Council.

WILL WORK FOR LEGISLATIVE HARMONY

New York City, Nov. 19, 1910.

Managing Editor,

Dear Sir:—I enclose printed announcement which describes, in a general way, the program and the scope of the eleventh annual meeting of The National Civic Federation which will be held January 12, 13, 14, 1911, in New York City. The Executive Committee will appreciate it if you can find convenient to make mention of this meeting.

Very truly yours,
Seth Low, President.

Annual Meeting of The National Civic Federation January 12, 13 and 14, 1911
—Great National Problems Will Be Considered and Committees Organized to Propose Legislation.

Program Includes Discussion Upon Regulation of Combinations and Quasi-Public Utilities, Compensation for Industrial Accidents, and Mediation and Arbitration Laws.

Federation's Compensation Department Will Present Draft for Model Uniform State Law—Constitutional Features Now Being Considered by Uniform Commissioners in 32 States.

Application of Canadian Arbitration Law to Industrial Disputes Concerning Street Railways and Other Municipal Utilities Through Uniform State Laws Will Be Considered.

The eleventh annual meeting of The National Civic Federation will be held January 12, 13 and 14, 1911, in New York City. The State councils, organized by the Federation during the past year to promote the unification and co-ordination of State and Federal laws, will hold their first national meeting in conjunction therewith. In addition there will be special meetings of the various departments of the Federation. The important topics of the hour, in which the Federation has been especially interested and which will be considered, are:

Regulation of Corporations and Combinations;

Regulation of Railroads and Municipal Utilities;

Compensation for Industrial Accidents;

Arbitration and Conciliation.

The announcement of the meeting thus describes the program:

Trusts and Combinations:

“State and Federal Regulation of Corporations” and questions dealing with the limitations of combinations in restraint of trade, whether in manufacturing, finance, labor, agriculture or other fields, will be considered at this meeting. A feature of this part of the program will be a thorough exposition of the new Act which went into effect in Canada, May 1, 1910. This Act provides that upon application of six citizens who complain against a corporation a judge may order that a commission of three be named, one member by the complainants, one by the corporation and the third by the two thus selected. The commission is required to make an extended inquiry and publish a report, which must be accepted by the corporation within ten days upon penalty of a fine of \$1,000 a day.

Another feature of the program will be a description of the Potash Syndicate recently organized by the German Government, in which the Government itself has a minority interest. The syndicate is practically a pool, fixes prices and regulates the output under government supervision. The same principle is being applied in that country to the electric and whiskey industries.

The regulation of combination in England will also be described.

While the United States Supreme Court is expected to define clearly the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases, and in the injunction and anti-boycott cases against the officers of the American Federation of Labor, that decision will not necessarily have any bearing on the forty or more State laws on the same subjects.

Railway Regulation.

The need for uniformity in State regulation of railroads and other public utilities, the co-ordination of the laws governing the State railroad commissions and the Interstate Commerce law, made evident at the recent hearings on the railroad rate question, and also the regulation of public utilities by commissions will be discussed.

The controversy over the proposition to increase railroad rates, now before the Interstate Commerce Commission, is of tremendous concern not only to the stockholders, merchants, manufacturers and other shippers, but also to the three million employes working on the railroads and in the shops of the railroad supply manufacturers. It indirectly concerns the millions of depositors in sav-

ings banks and policy-holders in insurance companies which are large investors in railroad securities.

Compensation for Industrial Accidents.

A proposed uniform bill on compensation for industrial accidents will be presented for consideration. This measure is the result of a year's careful study of the question by a committee composed of members of official State compensation commissions, the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws of thirty-two States, representative of the American Bar Association in eighteen States, representative employers, labor men and social experts. In no subject is there greater need for uniform State action than in the matter of compensation for industrial accidents. This is clearly proven by the increased cost of insurance resulting under the application of the New York Compensation law, which in some cases had doubled the rate, and which, if generally applied, would work hardship on New York employers who have to compete with employers in other States.

Laws Regulating Labor Disputes.

In view of the recent street railway strikes in Philadelphia and Columbus and the express strike in New York City, there will be considered questions of special interest to the public at this time, to-wit: How far is the Canadian Conciliation and Arbitration Act applicable to and desirable for the United States? Can the State laws on mediation and arbitration be made effective in handling industrial disturbances in general? Shall special legislation be advocated, applying to street railways and other municipal utilities? Shall the Erdman Act, which is so effective in the case of interstate railways, be extended to telegraph, telephone and express companies?

"New Nationalism" and "Old Moralities."

The following statement, in the announcement for the annual meeting, describes the work of the Federation in promoting legislative harmony between the States:

Whether we call it the "new nationalism" or the "old moralities," the fact remains that there is an interminable conflict between the States themselves on some matters and between the States

TO ORGANIZED LABOR EVERYWHERE, GREETING.

There are at present some 45,000 Garment Workers out on strike in the city of Chicago. These people were previously in the employ of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, B. Kuppenheimer & Co., and about a hundred other ready-made and made-to-measure clothing concerns.

and the Federal Government on others, in respect to many of the vital problems of the day, which can only be terminated by legislation framed after serious and sane consideration. It is clear that there are many questions with which the States alone can and should deal through uniform action; there are other questions with which only the Federal Government can deal effectively; and still others in which co-ordination of effort between the States and Nation is essential, the only test being, which control is the more desirable and effective, from the standpoint of public welfare.

The importance of this situation to all business, commercial and industrial institutions is clearly recognized when we consider that our large corporations—such as the railroads, telegraph, insurance, banking and trust companies, and, in fact, so far as taxation is concerned, all manufacturing concerns whose plants are in different States—are subject to forty-six masters, each with a mind quite different from that of the others.

The diversity of State laws on ordinary commercial matters, such as warehouse receipts, bills of lading and negotiable notes, the urgent need for a uniform bill on compensation for industrial accidents, and, in fact, all labor legislation relating to hours and conditions of employment for men, women and children, the interminable law's delay arising from lack of uniformity in court procedure, the conflict between the States and the Federal Government on the question of pure food and drugs, the urgent need for an approximate uniformity in the laws governing the building of good roads, and the regulation of dairy products (both of which are being urged by farmers' organizations), give emphasis to the seriousness of our present chaotic legislative situation.

To promote harmony between these clashing interests The National Civic Federation is organizing councils in every State in the Union, composed of representative men from the commercial, manufacturing, mercantile, banking, insurance, professional. Delegations of the State councils will attend the annual meeting and determine upon a definite program and method of work.

The conditions under which these people were compelled to work were of the vilest kind:

1. Denied the right to belong to and discrimination against and dismissal for belonging to a trade union.
2. Compelled to secure a pass from a foreman to get a drink of water or go to the lavatory.

3. Compelled to pay for soap in the wash rooms.
4. Petty fines for various infraction of rules materially decreasing their earnings.
5. The system changed from week to piece work and the prices paid being so low so to make the highest speed necessary to earn sufficient to keep body and soul together.

And many other tyrannies too numerous to mention.

We are paying no strike benefits, but have commissary departments to feed the strikers, and, there being 45,000 of them it takes a large sum of money.

On behalf of these people we make an appeal for funds that are urgently needed. Act at once as the case is a needy one.

This appeal received the unanimous endorsement at the St. Louis session of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

B. A. Large,
General Secretary,

United Garment Workers of America.

Send all funds to B. A. Large, General Secretary, U. G. W. of A., 117 Bible House, New York City, N. Y.

PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The following is a portion of President Gomper's report to the thirtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which opened at St. Louis, Mo., Monday, Nov. 14:

From President Gomper's Report.

For the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910, there were issued by the American Federation of Labor 334 certificates of affiliation (charters), as follows:

International unions	2
State federations	1
City central bodies	632
Local trade unions	152
Federal labor unions	96
 Total	334

At the close of the fiscal year there were affiliated to our Federation:

International unions	120
State federations	39
City central bodies	632
Local trade unions	431
Federal labor unions	216
 Total	1,438

The international unions enumerated have approximately 28,000 local unions under their jurisdiction. Attention is called to this fact so that the error into which many persons have fallen as to corrected. As its name implies, ours is a federated body of international, state, central, and directly affiliated locals, the latter having no international unions of their own trade or calling. The international unions have direct jurisdiction over their own local unions or lodges situated throughout the continent. Applications from unions for affiliation are turned over to the international of the trade where one is in existence. During the past year our affiliated international unions report they have issued 2,157 charters to local unions, and there-

by and by adhesion to existing locals have increased their membership for the year 218,229 members.

Our state federations and city central bodies are continually extending their sphere of usefulness and becoming of larger advantage to our fellow-workers. They are abreast of the times, improving every opportunity which presents itself, usually taking the initiative in securing reforms in the industrial, political, social and moral condition of the workers and all our people. Legislatively, they have secured advances too numerous to incorporate in detail in this report. Throughout the length and breadth of our continent the co-operation and spirit of fraternity and solidarity manifested by the members of the organized labor movement is a matter of commendation and deep gratification and must make for a constant growth through organizing the yet unorganized toilers.

Numerically, the membership of our affiliated organizations is near the highest figures in their existence. In 1907-8 we experienced a panic, during which, by reason of unemployment, a decrease in membership occurred. Within the past year a marked increase in both membership and organizations is to be noted. In a report which I had the honor to submit to a former convention discussing the "law of growth" of the trade union movement I took occasion to say in part:

"In connection with this it may be well to call attention to the fact that there is a natural law of growth in the labor movement, a law that is not generally understood. Where there is a falling off of membership, no matter how slight, our opponents point to it with satisfac-

tion as an indication of disintegration or dissolution of the labor movement. The unthinking in our own ranks view it with alarm. The fact of the matter is that any temporary falling off in membership is due largely to the failure on the part of those organizations to adopt the means by which the members' best interests are safeguarded. After all, a better intelligence and a revived spirit of workmen soon demonstrate the necessity of organization to protect their best interests, and they soon return to their Alma Mater of the labor movement, the trade union. With this revived spirit the enthusiasm penetrates into the ranks of the unorganized, and these, together with the trend of events in industry and labor conditions, have their compelling force upon the minds of the wage-earners, who in constantly larger numbers join the ranks of the grand army of organized labor, to make common cause for the protection and advancement of all the wage-earners.

"Let pessimists and opponents takeunction to their souls for their master-ship of the past. The present and the future are for labor, which in its organized, federated movement will stand as a protest against injustice and wrong toward any of our fellow-men, as the vanguard to proclaim and achieve the rights to which the toilers, the masses, are entitled."

The tide of events has changed. The time and opportunity for a more thorough campaign of organization are here, and, during the next few years, "we must take the current as it serves or lose our ventures." No effort should be left untried to bring the toilers within the protective and beneficent fold and influence of our trade union movement. Every labor organization, wherever located, should exert its uttermost efforts to continue organizing. Every dollar wisely expended in the propoganda of organization will yield its fruit in strength, power, advantage, wisdom and influence for good.

I would urge upon all our fellow-unionists, officers and members, the great rank and file, that greater and more persistent work of organization be planned and carried into effect.

Let every union member regard it as his mission to organize—to bring at least one fellow-worker into membership of his trade union. Let the slogan be: Organize, agitate, educate!

In the campaign of organization, in the great and diversified work which our Federation undertakes in the interest of the toilers, we have often felt the dire need of funds. A scrutiny of our ex-

penditures will disclose that there is not a dollar devoted to any purpose but which makes directly for the workers' welfare.

Our Movement Not Narrow.

"The narrowness of trade unionism." This phrase passes current, at full face value, in every camp and even in every grouplet of "intellectuals." In going the whole round of the "isms," sociological, ethical, legal, political, reformatory, played-out popular crazes, or "just-out" social panaceas, one will hear expressed by the leaders a sentiment that the trade unionists are hide-bound conservatives—because they decline to rush in a body to take the magic medicine for social ills offered by the particular "ism" advocated by the critic in each particualr case.

It is a fact that trade unionism in America moves on its own set and deliberate way. In so doing, it has outlived wave upon wave of hastily conceived so-called "board" movements that were to reconstruct society in a single season. And it has sufficiently good cause for continuing its own reasoned-out course.

A full defense of trade unionism against the charge of narrowness would require many volumes, were each to be separately devoted to counter-statements and argumentation addressed to every critic advocating his own special "ism" as against trade unionism. But there is one broad bottom fact underlying all the criticisms of trade unionism based on its alleged narrowness. That fact is, that trade unionism is not narrow.

The locomotive engine is not "narrow" because it is not fitted to run on highways and by-ways and waterways as it is for railways, nor is the steamship "narrow" because it can not be made to run on land. But steam, the motive power, can be so applied that it is effective on both land and water. An engine is adapted to a special use; steam in its applications is universal.

Similarly, a trade union is not a machine fitted to the work of directly affecting all the civic, social, and political changes necessary in society. But it first of all teaches the working classes the power of combination. Thenceforward it disciplines them, leads them to perform tasks that are possible, and permits the members of any of its affiliated bodies to attempt any form of social experiment which does not imperil the organization as a whole. The spirit of combination has the immediate effects of self-confidence for the democratic elements in the unions, of growth in the loyalty of workingman for work-

ingman, of constant progressive achievement not confined to restricted limits. It is therefore a motive power continuously and variously applicable as the masses move forward and upward in their individual and collective development.

The spirit of combination in the wage-workers has as a motive power many points of resemblance to that of steam (or for that matter electricity) in the mechanical world. One of these points is that the machine to be moved must not be too big or too complex for the engine. Theorist social reformers beyond enumeration have in vain offered their utopian inventions to the masses because the latter, endowed with common sense, have, on due observation, refused to supply the needed wasteful power to make the inventions go. If they had done so for a time, they could but have exhibited the folly of going to greater pains and troubles than the present social machinery requires. The history of the United States is plentifully illustrated with millennial experiments, illusory for the reason that their maintenance in some way overtaxed their supporters, accustomed to making progress in the freedom and opportunity of America even as it is.

No other mechanism for carrying out the will of the wage-workers in the domain in which they can especially benefit themselves has equaled the trade union and the trade union movement in bringing desired results. No other has equally stood the test of time. No other has thrown anything like the light upon the state of mind of the masses with respect to their economic education. No other has been able to show how intensely practical the workingmen are—nor how devoted they can show themselves to a clearly defined principle, nor how ready they are to trust to their own leadership, nor how they invariably refuse, as a class, to embark in fiction-born utopian ventures. The trade union has been broad enough for all practical purposes.

And yet trade unionism is the soundest base yet laid for every project that gives promise to the working class for a firm and solid advance. Moving step by step, trade unionism contains within itself, as a movement and as a mechanism, the possibilities for establishing whatever social institution the golden future shall develop for the workers as the pre-destined universal element to be in control of society.

Politically, an invariable problem confronting the trade union movement is how to take action without binding itself to a hard and fast "ism," "ology," or platform. The best of these may quickly develop weakness imperiling the hard-

won unity of the masses. As a matter of history, American labor organizations, national as well as local, have come to disastrous ending through diverting themselves from trade unions, with clear principles and accepted methods and tried leadership, into political parties with vote-catching platforms, campaign methods and heroes of the passing hour for "standard-bearers." The lesson that has been heeded by the rank and file of the trade unions and has been learned by the veterans in the American Federation of Labor is to trust all the time to definite and time-tried trade union economic methods and to the ballot only in so far as results are to be foreseen to a positive certainty. The political measures to be achieved must, beyond a doubt, form the cause for the workers' proceeding to vote together, but by the side of these measures the fortunes of parties and politicians fall to a subordinate, even a negligible, place.

From its present position the American Federation of Labor is enabled to throw out feelers all over the continent and ascertain in what respects and how far the ballot may supplement the established and familiar forms of union effort in promoting the well-being of the wage-earning class. The preference the rank and file express for certain public men in some localities comes not so much from interest in the men in question as in the public work they have performed or bind themselves to perform. The votes the organized workers give in support of certain radical parties in other localities is less an indication of an acceptance of platform theories than testimony that the immediate practical demands of these parties are in accord with the needs of the wage-earners and the communities concerned at the present hour. In any case, such activities of the trade unionists in public affairs give contradiction to the charge of narrowness of their institution—the union. They illustrate the fact of an adaptability to occasion and opportunity that in itself is the best evidence of breadth. More, it is a breadth both in view and spirit, consonant with a lasting security of position and with every possibility of continuous experimentation.

It was no narrowness of view, but a clear and comprehensive foresight of the results to be achieved through a change in the mechanism of our law-making, while remaining faithful to fundamental principles, that brought the American Federation twenty years ago to a support of the initiative and referendum and their collateral reforms in the general plan of restoring to the people the power that by the legerdemain of representative misrepresentation had been taken

away from them. In all the States and cities in which these rightful and truly democratic methods have been adopted, great progress has been made toward a satisfactory permanent basis for gradual steps through administrative purity and general reform to the future society of unerring universal justice, a progress greater than has been made through all those movements of the years which have been characterized either by spasmodic upheavals, usually under unstable leadership, or by feverish propaganda actuated through visions of utopias always illuminated by the most iridescent of rainbows.

The trade unions are the historically and naturally developed labor movement of our time, clime, and conditions. Our federation of trade unions represents and voices the struggles, needs, and the aspirations of the toiling masses of our continent. It helps to bear their burdens and make them lighter; it bears the scars and plain of battle and shares in glorious triumphs already achieved and makes ready for the brighter and better day now, tomorrow, and tomorrow's tomorrow. Nothing daunted, but straightforward and courageous, our labor movement, proud of its past, faces the future with an abiding faith and confidence that that future is ours.

NEW LABOR LAWS

"The continued appointment of state commissions to study workmen's compensation indicates that the public has accepted the fact of the injustice of employers' liability laws and is now eager for a workable scheme of compensation or insurance for industrial accidents," says the *Review of Labor Legislation of 1910*, recently issued from its New York office by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

This interesting and convenient view summarizes in twenty-four ages the activities of the various legislatures which have passed laws for the protection of labor during the present year, and includes a complete index to the new labor laws.

Employers' Liability.

Commissions in addition to those of 1909 (Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin) were this year created by the legislatures of Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Massachusetts, and by the Federal Government. The governor of Washington also has recently appointed a commission. In Ohio and New York the liability laws were greatly modified in favor of the injured, and for the first time in this country we now have a law which provides compensation, in more than one industry, for accidents, regardless of fault. In this law New York included eight extra hazardous employments and has worked out a definite scheme of compensation for injuries. The injured man has a choice of accepting compensation according to the given schedule or of suing under the existing liability law. By another New York act employer and employee may agree voluntarily upon a compensation scheme for those industries not included in the compulsory law.

The *Review* discusses also the second

Maryland measure providing relief for coal mine employees, and the amendment to the federal law, which simplifies procedure and greatly reduced costs by permitting actions for damages to be brought in state or district courts.

Old Age Pensions.

While the principle of providing pensions for public service employees has long been established in such states as Massachusetts and New Jersey the *Review* states that the American legislatures have not yet accepted the principle of industrial old age pensions. A bill, based upon a careful preliminary study of existing systems of industrial pensions in other countries, was presented in Massachusetts but was defeated. New Jersey, however, has provided for a commission to report a bill in 1911.

Hours of Labor.

An amendment to the federal eight hour law of 1892 definitely brings construction work on navy vessels within the operation of the law. By an act which promises to be enforceable the eight hour law is established on public works in Kentucky. Attempts to restrict the hours of labor for women in Ohio were unsuccessful, but in New York and Virginia efforts to extend the working day by special exemption for certain occupations were defeated. Legislation affecting the hours and working conditions of children were enacted in eight states and the District of Columbia. The night messenger service was closed to young persons in several states, and in New Jersey a long struggle to prohibit the night work of children met with final success.

Health and Safety.

The widespread discussion for compensation for injured workmen has empha-

sized anew the importance of the prevention of accidents. Interstate railroads are to be more carefully equipped with safety devices, and in Ohio and Virginia cars must be constructed to provide greater protection for workmen.

The Cherry mine disaster evidently stimulated Illinois to enact a most elaborate law concerning systems of fire extinction in mines, signals, care of stables, and storage of fodder. In addition three mine rescue stations are to be established in the state. In Kentucky mine inspectors are provided with oxygen helmets and other life-saving apparatus. The federal government has also established a Bureau of Mines with several rescue stations.

The health of employes in factories received considerable attention. Workers exposed to the humidity of textile factories in Massachusetts, to the injurious dusts in New York factories, to industrial diseases in Illinois, and to the long hours and low wages in the steel industry, will all receive better protection because of the legislation of this year.

Trade Disputes.

On the subject of trade disputes a swarm of bills were introduced and defeated.

The method of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act has been frequently recommended, but bills modeled on this law have invariably failed to pass. Massachusetts, however, has this year required employers who advertise for help when a strike is on, to state that fact in the advertisement. Laws recognizing the union label were enacted in Maryland and South Carolina.

Unemployment.

"No legislation exists in this country for the direct relief of unemployment," says this *Review*. In Massachusetts a bill providing funds for construction or repair work during times of industrial depression was defeated. The establishment of free employment offices in Baltimore and in the cities of New Jersey was defeated, while the federal regulation of employment bureaus with special reference to those dealing with immigrants has been urged upon Congress with no better results. Stricter regulations as to fees and records in employment bureaus were put in force in New

York and Virginia, and in Massachusetts a commission has been appointed to study the workings of both public and private agencies.

Immigration.

Of the greatest importance in this field, is the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration established this year within the State Department of Labor. The Bureau will have power to investigate the demand for and possible supply of alien labor, to inspect all labor camps, to ascertain the conditions of employment, and to aid in the best placement of such labor. Among the specific duties required are: the inspection of philanthropic, and of employment and contract labor agencies dealing with the employment of distribution of aliens; the gathering of information concerning deportable aliens in prisons and asylums, and the assistance in their deportation; co-operation with other authorities in protecting the immigrant against fraud, and extortion by private bankers, notaries public, and in connection with transportation and landing facilities. The Bureau must also secure a complete list of names, ages and destinations of alien school children, send copies to local authorities, and advise as to best methods of instruction in citizenship.

Enforcement of the Law.

The great problem of the future is the administration and enforcement of the law. Constantly increasing attention is being given to those devices which make laws effective, violations are more severely penalized, and the powers of inspectors are more definitely outlined, but still more attention must be concentrated on this subject.

In Massachusetts a special commission, basis," the *Review* concludes, "our labor legislation will continue to be lacking in effectiveness."

Prepare for 1911.

Thirteen States held regular legislative sessions this year. In addition as many as four special sessions were called. During the next few months over forty different legislatures will be in session and preparation should be made early for progressive legislation. This *Review* furnishes the facts in convenient form, at the time they are most needed.

A CLINIC FOR INDUSTRIAL DISEASES.

Some of us had hoped that industrial America with its wonderful resources, its famed philanthropies and its uncounted thousands of work-diseased men and women, might be first among nations to recognize the need of a special hospital

and clinic for industrial diseases. But the honor belongs to Italy.

Eight years ago a group of social-minded medical men in Milan united in a demand for systematic study of diseases of occupation. Four years ago they called together from many nations the first International Congress on Indus-

trial Diseases. Last March they saw the hopes of years culminate in the dedication of the first labor clinic.

"For the scientific study and prevention of occupational diseases," is the inscription in letters of gold on a back-ground of white marble over the entrance of this unique hospital. Three large four-story buildings, new and well-equipped with the latest scientific apparatus in laboratories, hospital wards, lecture room and library, are here frankly dedicated to the elimination of those diseases peculiar to industrial employments. Already twelve scientific men are co-operating with the director, Dr. Devoto, although the laboratories were not opened until March 20. In one of the hospital wards the director is giving special attention to fourteen patients. One of these a man trembling with the peculiar palsy due to mercurial poisoning, began work in a hat factory when ten years of age and felt the effects of the poison almost immediately. Another patient suffers with "lead colic," the result of his work as a house painter. Seven of his thirteen children died during the first few months after they came into the world, on account, perhaps of the presence of poison in the father's system. Other patients are being treated for ills occasioned by work in high temperatures, in dusty or poisonous atmospheres, and for the results of overstrain.

The laboratories, too, are fully equipped. Here we find treadmills in which dogs patiently trot up endless hills in order that their blood corpuscles may disclose new truths concerning the toxin of fatigue. Machines register on revolving discs the fluctuating curves inscribed by long series of muscular strains, in order that the effects of overwork and artificial stimulus may be correlated with immunity from disease. Here, too, "leaded" mother goats and guinea pigs add to our fund of knowledge concerning the effects of lead poisoning upon premature birth and the supply of mother's milk.

These experiments, moreover, are of much more than ordinary laboratory interest. A practical provision extends the activities of the clinic into industrial establishments, and supplements the work of government factory inspectors. Dr. Carozzi, who has devoted much time to this important work, is fully supplied with portable air-test devices. When called upon by the department, he is authorized to enter establishments to inspect sanitary conditions.

These practical experiments, carried on with a broad scientific devotion to the conservation of human resources, offer both encouragement and reproach to us

in the United States. What have we of equal value to offer the sons and daughters of Italy whom we invite to our shores? Country dentists have confessed to us that they were merely "experimenting" with match factory employees afflicted with the deadly "phossy jaw. Industrial diseases of many kinds are leaving pitiful wrecks to burden and shame us. It is not a matter of reproach that it was not in weary, smoke-begrimed Pittsburgh, nor amid the textile mills of New England, nor among the mines and smelters and factories of the United States, but beneath the sunny skies of Italy that this need found tangible expression in the first clinic for industrial diseases?

When Florence Nightingale and Henri Dunant saw the battlefields strewn with dead and wounded, they gave a moment to thought, and then passed on to the world an idea which grew into that benevolent organization known as the Red Cross. Since that time, wherever men might be injured in the activities of war the means for quick relief have been supplied. During that same half century, however, the industrial field with its activities of peace has extended and grown more mechanical, until it now maims more men than war ever did. In the United States we are just beginning to realize that 30,000 wage-earners are killed by industrial accident every year, and that at least 500,000 more are seriously injured. And now, carefully prepared by a committee of experts appointed by the president of the Association for labor legislation and thoughtfully received by the president of the United States, comes a Memorial on Industrial Diseases, which discloses industrial injuries of still greater magnitude. In this admirable memorial of facts and figures we learn that in the United States there are probably not less than 13,000,000 cases of sickness each year among those engaged in industrial employments. The money loss each year (for those who find dollars more impressive than lives) is calculated by these conservative experts as nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars. At least one-fourth of this painful incapacity for work and consequent economic loss, we are told, can be prevented.

Germany has gathered and displayed in special government institutions, the latest devices for preventing accidents and disease in workshops. These suggestive permanent exhibitions rank among the interesting museums pointed out to the stranger. And it was only yesterday that Germany among nations nosed into the industrial class. In Minnesota and Wisconsin we are tardily securing the attention of the state to this

important subject and are gradually building up permanent exhibits on that sure and effective foundation.

But in the United States we need an institution that will correlate the experience of our scattered little group of hygienists and enable more medical men to direct their attention to the problems of industrial hygiene. We need for the purpose a special laboratory and hospital to accelerate progress in the study of the causes and prevention of industrial diseases. With such an institution, phosphorus poisoning would quickly disappear from our match industry as a matter of scientific common sense. The long list of poisons affecting scores of different occupations would gradually be shortened. Conditions which lower vitality, lessen efficiency and invite disease, would quickly be improved to the advantage of manufacturer and wageearner. The necessary research would be carried on by scientists of unquestioned ability and singleness of purpose, and in a manner which would enlist from all the heartiest co-operation.

For the past two years the American Association for Labor Legislation has had an able commission on industrial hygiene, and last June called the first American Congress on Industrial Diseases. As an outgrowth of that congress a committee of experts has submitted to the president a memorial calling attention to the urgent need of a national investigation. The most valuable aid in such an inquiry would be an American clinic for the study and prevention of industrial diseases.

THE "OPEN SHOP" CITY OF REFUGE.

By Stuart Reid.

"We stand for the open shop and free and independent workmen."

This is the text of sermons that are being preached all over the country today by opponents of the great organized labor movement. It is a splendid bait and many an unfortunate workman has bit hard and been hooked unmercifully. To be a free and independent workman is a laudable ambition and the term "open shop" gives a suggestion of something most desirable.

On the Pacific Coast one city of refuge for supporters of the "open shop" has already been established. It is a walled city, and the "philanthropists" are attempting to extend the wall until it encircles the whole coast. Merchants, manufacturers, "captains" of industry, judges, legislators, and professional men are engaged to build the wall. Fortunately, many of the workmen have had an opportunity to go into the city of refuge and take a look around. The doors have

not been permitted to swing closed. They have been held open by the "iniquitous unions."

This city of refuge is the "City of the Angels," Los Angeles. It is a fair city, surrounded by a Garden of Eden, reclaimed from the desert. But the toilers who inhabit that city of refuge, and many of them and their fathers helped to make the desert bloom, are permitted to see only the desert, and to them it has become a city of angels of darkness. Cooling zephyrs are wafted from the Pacific, palm trees wave, the air is sweet with the fragrance of myraids of roses, orange blossoms are perpetual, and the "Master of Life," with the aid of human endeavor, never created a more enchanting spot. But the slaves of this city of refuge, this enchanted spot, have little opportunity to cool their fevered brows with the cooling zephyrs. It is not theirs to see the waving of the palm. The foul atmosphere of the mill, the shop, and the factory, is substituted for the fragrance of the roses. An atmosphere of deep gloom always hovers over this city of refuge, established by the "philanthropic promoters of the open shop," and over the inside portals the miserable lotus eater always sees the heart-chilling inscription "Abandon hope all ye who enter here."

Lured by advertisements displayed in many cities, thousands of workmen have traveled to the "City of Angels;" the celebrated city of refuge, the great "open shop" city.

One who came was a molder, a fine specimen of manhood and a master of the craft. He had come from parts on the other side of the desert where the "iniquitous unions" still flourished and he carried a union card. He had been paid fair wages in the parts from whence he came and he had worked nine hour five days a week and enjoyed a Saturday half-holiday. There were no palms there, and the cruel frosts precluded the possibility of orange blossoms "being transformed into golden fruit." But there were roses and stately waving trees and velvety grass. On Saturday afternoons, with Molly and the baby, it had been possible to roam the woods and enjoy the beauties of nature. Even grim winter with its howling winds and chilly frosts and snows had been robbed of many of its discomforts, when warmly wrapped, with Molly and the baby by his side, they had taken part in a bobsled ride with its accompaniment of tooting horns and jingling sleigh bells, or when he enjoyed the heat of a crackling stove, listening to the chatter of baby or the gossip of Molly after the day's work was over. "The iniquitous union" had made it possible for him to enjoy life even on the "Bleak New England Coast."

He sought employment in the "City of the Angels." He went to a foundry and made known his desire to secure a job. He was told that it was not the custom to employ men at the gates of establishments in this city of refuge, but that a nicely equipped office had been established for that purpose. That the "open shop philanthropists" were so mindful of the necessities of "free and independent workmen" that they desired to make the securing of employment a comfort instead of a weary hunt.

With eager and hurried steps he made his way to the office as directed, thanking God for guiding him into such a "Land of Promise." The office, the employment bureau of the employers' association, he found in a splendid building. He was not even required to walk up stairs. An elevator, equipped with all modern devices raised him in a moment to the desired floor. He found the agent of the employers and was received in a smooth, oily manner. Again he thanked God for a system so much better than that which was in operation in the parts from which he came, where he had been compelled to stand at a foundry gate and seek employment from a rough spoken foreman. The agent of the employers purred at him, asked him in a velvety manner to make his wants known, and the molder's heart warmed to the polished gentleman who was so condescending and obliging.

"Are you a union man?" softly purred the agent of the employers. "I am," replied the molder. Then the glory departed. The agent of the employers, of the "open shop philanthropists," no longer purred. He was no longer condescending or obliging, but replied in icy tones, "You can not secure employment here. This is an open shop city. We employ only free and independent workmen." The molder grew pale. His visions began to vanish and the sun in the "Land of Promise" did not seem to shine nearly as bright. He had heard of the "open shop" and of "free and independent workmen." The proposition had not appeared a bad one. It surely would be great to be a "free and independent workman" and an "open shop," a shop where everybody that wanted to work could find employment, must certainly be a good thing. He had crossed the continent to learn that the "open shop" was a myth, deceit and a snare, and that the wily "philanthropists" who promoted them were liars, when they asserted that their institutions were open to all.

He left the office and presented himself at the gate of another foundry, offering up a prayer to God that all the establishments in the "City of the Angels," the city of refuge, would not prove to be

"open shops." His prayers were unanswered. They were, and when the day closed he was convinced that the "open shop" was a closed shop and that there was not a foundry in the city of refuge that would employ a real free and independent workman. The "City of Angels" would never become his abiding place. True! the zephyrs were still being wafted from the Pacific, the palms were waving, the fragrance of the roses filled the air and the orange blossoms still mingled with the golden fruit. But he could not eat the zephyrs or the palms or subsist on the fragrance of the roses or the beauty of the orange blossoms. All that was left was the golden fruit, but it belonged to another, and frail as it might be as a sustainer he had no right to gather it. The gentle, cooling zephyrs, the waving palms, the fragrant roses, and the orange blossoms and golden fruit lost their charm. He had a vision of the bleak New England coast, and although he was in a land flowing with milk and honey, a land as fair as paradise, he would have parted with it all if he could only have been transported back to that land where men seek employment at foundry gates.

Another molder came and, like the first, was directed to the employment bureau of the "open shop philanthropists." He met the same agent and was asked the same question: "Are you a union man?" He was not, and answered in the negative. The agent smiled on him and purred delightfully. His "spirit of independence" was extolled and his prudence and intelligence that has kept him away from the "tyrannical influences of the labor organizations" highly commended. He got a job and went to work in an "open shop" as a "free and independent workman." Like the first molder, who had been cast out into outer darkness, he was a splendid workman, but when he asked how much pay he would receive he was told that the "philanthropists" who operated the "open shops" always paid a man according to his ability. He was required to work ten hours a day, and was just a little perplexed, but comforted himself with the assurance that if he worked longer than he had done in the parts from which he came he would be handsomely compensated by the "philanthropist" who employed him. Surely he had no reason to doubt the "kind, obliging gentleman" in the employment bureau who had assured him that he would surely be paid as much as he was worth.

Then pay-day arrived, and he was sure that a mistake had been made when he found that he had received little more, and probably less, than the wages paid unskilled labor in the parts from which

he came. He went to the foreman, and from him to the office, and made his complaint known. He was quietly informed that no mistake had been made, that he was being paid just what he was worth. Then he awoke to a realization of the fact that in the glorious "open shop" the employer was the undisputed judge of a man's worth, and that "free and independent workmen" were certainly not worth much in the estimation of the promoters of the wonderful "open shop" system.

Still he was a "free and independent workman," and as such must be accorded the right of protest. Horror upon horror! He soon found out that a "free and independent workman" ceased to be a "free and independent workman" the moment he dared question the absolute right of the "open shop philanthropists" to assume powers a little less than those of Almighty God. Then a little of the spirit of a true free and independent workman asserted itself and he declared that he would not work for a laborer's wages. He threatened to quit and was informed that he had that right left as a "free and independent workman." He did quit. Of course he did not yet blame the oily, suave individual in the employment bureau, who had secured the job for him, but he did not care to bother him again right away and decided to seek again a job at some other foundry gate. But, like the first molder, he found it useless to apply at gates. He was always directed to the employment bureau of the "open shop philanthropists," and was finally compelled to call on the only suave employment agent again. He found him no longer oily or suave. The purring had also ceased, and he was tersely told that he had made a miserable start as a "free and independent workman;" that the employer who had so kindly found employment for him, and demanded the services of a skilled workman for a laborer's wages, was shocked at his outrageous behavior. If the agent happened to be feeling good, the workman was informed that intercession might be made for him and that his ingratitude might be pardoned by the kind employer and his return to work at a laborer's wages made possible. At times the outraged employer proved magnanimous and the refractory workman was again admitted into the city of refuge, to become a lotus eater and a chattel slave.

The union molder who had been barred from the city of refuge secured assistance from a little band of strong union men, who by craft were able to maintain positions in the city of refuge, hoping and praying for the arrival of the day when they might be able to break the bonds of the enslaving "philanthropists." Through

their good offices he and Molly and the baby had been transported to another coast city, where the city of refuge had not yet been established. There he had found employment, and hope. For on the Pacific Coast today strong union men are battling for human liberty. With courage undaunted they are presenting an undivided front to the enemies of human liberty and the advocates of chattel slavery, the "philanthropists of the open shop." And they will triumph.

Different was the fate of the other molder. He had always considered himself a "free and independent workman." Strong in his own conceit he had always scoffed at the necessity for an organized labor movement and considered himself so strong that he did not need a union to help him. In the land where the "open shop" had not gained control and from which he came, by reason of the labors of the unions, he had been paid a rate of wages that made it possible for him to save some money. He, too, had a wife and a baby, and it had taken a lot of money to pay for transportation across the country to the "City of the Angels." His search for work proved fruitless in the city and he tried to secure employment among the orange blossoms and golden fruit. He met with bitter disappointment again. No white man need apply for employment in such places. The Jap monopolizes that kind of work and the Hindus are coming by the thousands. Truly he was in a miserable plight. He and the wife and the baby had to be clothed and housed and fed. It was bitter indeed to be compelled to suborn the spirit of freedom and independence, but suborned it had to be. He had to make complete surrender to the "philanthropists" who had established the "open shop." He became a chattel slave in order that he and his wife and the baby might be permitted to live. Too late had he realized what the real "open shop" was. The part from which he came was far distant. The small wages he received made it impossible to save enough money to transport himself and the wife and the baby back. He was indeed in the city of refuge, the real "open shop" city, but he had found it a slave mart and he had become a slave.

And little better are the conditions under which many of the employers, who helped the "philanthropists" to found the city of refuge, are laboring. They had been told by the "philanthropists" that the "iniquitous unions" were stealing away their inalienable rights, that they were attempting to dictate who they should and who they should not employ. They listened, believed, and fell into the trap. Now they can not hire anyone. The "philanthropists of the open shop"

insist on doing all the hiring. The workmen sent them by the employment bureau may be incompetent, and they may know of other workmen who would be invaluable to them, but they are out of reach. They are the chattel slaves of some other employer, for in their wisdom the "open shop philanthropists" have seen to it that a workman can not leave one employment and enter into the service of another without the consent of the rest.

Some of the employers have rebelled against such conditions and others equally undesirable, and severed connections with the "open shop philanthropists." Upon such the unholy wrath of the "philanthropists" has descended with stunning force. Some of them have been forced out of the business and ruined. Some strong ones are still fighting against almost overwhelming odds. One of the rebels wanted a load of foundry sand and ordered it from a firm that had been supplying it for years. It was refused. He went to another firm and was rebuffed and finally had to get his sand from a distant city at a greatly increased cost. And as it is with sand so is it with material of every description in the city of refuge. If a manufacturer dares to rebel against the authority of the "philanthropists," he is shown no mercy, and often driven out of business and ruined.

Still the gentle, cooling zephyrs are being wafted from the Pacific. Still the palms wave, and the air is filled with the fragrance of the roses. Still the orange blossoms and the golden fruit intermingle, but the "City of the Angels," where the dream of the "philanthropists of the open shop" has been realized, is a city of slave owners, slave drivers, and chattel slaves.

**MARY BOYLE O'REILLY CONDEMNS
"BREAD LINE" WAGES FOR
GIRL TOILERS.**

**From the Retail Clerks' International
Advocate.**

Preaching the doctrine of the sisterhood of women, Miss Mary Boyle O'Reilly, the famous settlement worker and student of social and economic conditions, in an address on "Iniquity of the Bread-Line Wage," before the Cambridge Citizens' Association, scored the employers of cheap labor and called upon women of all classes to stand together in the fight to help the girl and woman who toil.

"Since the woman who earns must be protected, the woman who spends must know under what conditions the goods she buys are made." This was the telling point in a speech that revealed the pitiful life of the woman who slaves for a bread-line wage.

Harvard professors, Socialists, labor leaders, students of social and economic conditions, girl workers and society women heard Miss O'Reilly. In the audience were many who had been close personal friends of the speaker's father, the late John Boyle O'Reilly, the noted Irish patriot, poet, journalist and orator.

"It is now over 200 years since Mistress Betsy Baker, of Dedham, first braided and bleached Charles River meadow grass to make the first straw bonnet," said Miss O'Reilly.

"In the beginning it was said that if women's wages were small it would open new ways for wage earning. Thirty years ago there were 20,000 women workers in Boston, exclusive of domestic service. Twenty years ago Massachusetts had 150,000 women workers, as against 42 in Arizona and 18 in Nevada.

"We know that the human machine in perfection is the most productive in the world. We know, too, the dreadful outcome to women who work and to society when the human machine is allowed to degenerate because of an inadequate wage.

"Women who have time, leisure and interest are attempting to protect women who must work. An improvement in the economic condition of women workers can be brought about by wiser education.

"Better education and publicity, backed by that great force of modern times—public opinion—can benefit the woman worker. That is not the wild hysteria of a few, but the mature judgment of many.

"Under existing conditions two-thirds of the women workers of Massachusetts are under thirty years of age, and one-fifth are 'workless' workers every year. One-half of the laundry workers, one-half of the tailoresses and three-quarters of the boot and shoe workers are thrown out of employment at least once a year.

"Now to dwell on the working girl herself. We all know the typical working girl thrust out almost in childhood to earn a bread-line wage.

"They are immature, self-assertive, under-fed, ill-housed, badly clothed, and, by birth, youth and environment, naturally excitable, pleasure-loving, susceptible, untrained and the cheapest factor in the industrial world.

"Girls drift into industries that are stamped with the sin of bread-line wages for one of four reasons. They are divided into these groups:

"First—Those who choose a trade and are trained. This group has a pitifully small percentage.

"Second—Those who are thrust out by misfortune and grasp the first work offered.

"Third—Those who are born to work and who take anything without interest or energy.

"Fourth—Those unhappy little victims, defective in mind or body, who work only under protest.

"For the child of the workers wage earning begins at the earliest possible moment. School girls just graduated are eagerly sought by employers of cheap labor because they are cheap, alert and ambitious. These girls are too often independent of home guidance.

"In this advanced century the girl of sixteen knows as much as her mother and enjoys the knowledge of it more. A large percentage of them are those who toil for a mere pittance in the great industries.

"Girls who work for a bread-line wage are easily recognized. Their bodies are stunted by mal-nutrition or bad heredity; their minds saturated by cheap literature and the cheaper theatre."

COURTS, AND THE RESPECT FOR THEM.

We are persuaded that, ordinarily, men resting under charges are often not really tried by the courts; rather they are tried by rumor. The statute they offend is prejudice. The bottom complaint against them is that they have provoked the indignation of somebody, or some class. The testimony bearing on them is reiterated calumny in print. The chief trick of the counsel pleading for their conviction is to "give the dog a bad name." The jury, which is dubbed "the public," is deceived by garbled, distorted, and irrelevant testimony. Such are the constitution and practices of the High Court of Rumor. This court, however, has jurisdiction only among the class of people interested, in any particular case, in the conviction of the accused. Hence, the jurisdiction expands or contracts, or fits here and there, according as any portion of society calling itself "public opinion" seizes upon the offices of the court and performs its functions.

For example, the Manufacturers' Association, possessing itself of the machinery of rumor which works at high speed among people of the manufacturing class, some time ago convicted certain labor representatives of "defiance of the courts," "disrespect of the law," contempt of the bench," and sundry other similar counts expressive of vicious performances and wickedness of heart on the part of the accused.

Now, it is our belief that while resting under these horrible accusations we have comported ourselves with civility toward our accusers and respect to the general public, and, above all, deference to the lawfully constituted courts. In our character as one of the accused we have been rendered somewhat acute in our power of observing the attitude of other folks toward the courts—not the rumor courts, which are habitually flouted by their opponents, but the grave dispensers of justice who wear the judicial ermine on the honorable bench. The result is, we marvel at our own discretion and reserve, while we are amazed at the reckless aggressiveness of certain models of good citizenship in attacking courts which have given them disagreeable decisions. Here is the Philadelphia Press, for instance, talking up to the highest tribunal of its state:

The judgment reached by the supreme court of the state of Pennsylvania in the strip ticket case is one of the most outrageous decisions that could be handed down to a community. It is decisions of this character by the courts that are bringing criticism on the judiciary and are creating a loss of confidence in the bench on the part of the people.

It was hoped that the highest court in the state of Pennsylvania would view this matter so that the intent of the contracting parties would be carried out, the interests of the people of this community properly be protected, and the confidence in the court strengthened and sustained. Every layman understood clearly the agreement between the city of Philadelphia and the Rapid Transit Company to be other than this decision declares, and no amount of legal verbiage or technicalities will remove from their minds the injustice of the judgment which the supreme court has rendered.

As the decision of common pleas No. 2 was when originally rendered here reviewed and rebuked by the clearly reasoned and convincing dissenting opinion of Judge Wiltbank, so the supreme court's judgment has to meet the penetrating criticism and severe comment of Justice Mestrezat. His opinion, published elsewhere in the Press, is strong, luminous and compelling, and should be read by every one. He shows that the interpretation of the contract made by his colleagues is contrary to both reason and precedent and contradicts the company's own interpretation of it in its address to the people of Philadelphia. "Why," he asks, "if the company had but a single rate of fare, 5 cents, when this contract was framed, did the parties contract that the present 'rates of fare' instead of 'rate of fare' should not be changed?" His colleagues do not answer this. They can

not. The fact, the law and the common understanding of the contract are all against them.

It is impossible to have any respect whatever for the decision of the majority of the court in the face of Justice Mestreza's dissension and condemnation of it.

The Philadelphia Times thus roars its defiance at the same court in regard to the same case:

The supreme court of Pennsylvania having affirmed the decision of the common pleas court of Philadelphia in the suits brought by the city and certain citizens against the Rapid Transit Company, the strip ticket issue is settled. The people lose. The contract between the company and the city does not mean what the company, the councils, and the people understood it to mean at the time of its negotiations. On the contrary, it means what the company subsequently determined that it ought to mean in order to make possible a sudden increase in its revenues.

Only a few weeks ago a grand jury in New York twice ignored a court's orders to indict an association of employers. This judge, in discharging the jury, reminded the district attorney that the criminal code gives him the power to challenge a juror whom he suspects of "a state of mind" equivalent to partiality. But nothing followed this threat, and the grand jurymen went to their homes to live in safety despite their "defiance of the court."

Only the other day the New York Times contained this reference to a manipulation of the courts:

The Journal of Commerce, which pursues its way serenely far aloof from the maddening political world, is dazed by recent events at Washington. The timeliness of what was done in relation to the primaries in Iowa has no allurements for a journal with a single eye to the commercial bearings of laws and proposals of law. The Journal only perceives that a legal process was used under false pretenses, with a boldness unparalleled in anything that Mr. Gompers ever complained of, and it shudders to think of the possibility of such an abuse of the courts by a bad president. However, that milk is spilled, and it is useless to weep over it.

Positively, either light allusion to the courts or heated condemnation of them distresses us. Our ideal of a court of justice is a very high one. We wish to cherish that ideal. That extremely dignified grand juries and very great editorial writers should insult, brow-beat, and insinuatingly impugn supreme courts gives us pain.

The United States senate recently refused to recognize the jurisdiction and authority of Justice Wright of the supreme court of the District of Columbia. He issued an order to one of the senate's committees to show cause why a mandamus should not be issued compelling the committee to do a certain thing—the committee reported the order to the senate and that body directed its committee to ignore the order. Well, why did not Justice Wright cite the senators forming the committee for contempt of his order and the United States senate for directing, aiding and abetting that contempt and defiance of the order? An order of the court, "wright or wrong," said the court in the Mitchell-Morrison-Gompers case, "must be obeyed."

In connection with this, we recall the fact that our challenge to the editor of the Century Magazine to go over the matter of the American Federation of Labor differences with the Buck's Stove and Range Company and indicate to the indicted "labor leaders" wherein they defied the courts," remains unanswered. Of course, as we have reason to know, monthly publications come out only once a month. But, we submit, the Century has had time since our request was made of it to insert in its pages a little paragraph putting us finally, convincingly and irretrievably in the wrong—if its editor could.—American Federationist.

MAKE GOOD.

The man we like is the man who wins,
The man with a mighty will;
Who plods away through the heat of the day,

And journeys up the hill.
His is the hand we like to grasp;
He is the man that we would
Clasp to our breast with friendly zest,
The man who is making good.

For whether it be on land or sea,
In peace or the bloody fray,
The men we cheer are the men who steer
A straightway course each day.
Not the man who falters and drops aside,
But the man who has boldly stood
In the thick of the fight for the cause
of the right—
The man who is making good.

Then here's to the man today, say I,
Who strives with a heart of steel,
With his red blood warm in his manly
form,
Though envy's at his heel.
Yes, here's to the man who toils right
on,
Though he be misunderstood;
I make my bow to him right now—
The man who is making good.

—Detroit Free Press.

THE LATEST CHARGE AGAINST UNION LABOR.

By President John R. Alpine.

The destruction of the Los Angeles "Times" building has, as might have been expected, been laid at the doors of organized labor. Those responsible for the creation of the "Times" by every uncalled for attitude towards the unionized workers, have never given the latter cause for anything but contempt, surely no respect has ever been engendered as a result of all the slanderous abuse that has emanated from this paper, as directed at the unionized workers of our country, but, while we have no love and never have pretended to entertain any affection for either the "Times" or its sponsors, we love and respect the laws of our land, and while we are compelled to combat each milestone of our unionistic way, we do it in a legitimately lawful manner by logical reasoning and reserving the right to bargain collectively and not by the means of bombs or dynamite.

Open day methods are those we employ; a fair exchange for a fitting return. We have turned a deaf ear to the vitriolic malignantly slanderous articles born of the Los Angeles "Times," firm in the belief that when the sunlight of just industrial reasoning penetrates the mind of the author, vindication complete and just will follow.

We have maintained a reserved silence almost akin to contempt through all these series of abusive tirades and had the workers replied in kind, they would have received, as we might have expected, universal condemnation.

The battle for real industrial emancipation is being waged lawfully and it may be added successfully at Los Angeles, as elsewhere, and dark lanterns or post mortem methods are not employed and have no place in the minds or theories of the trade unionist, by whom this latest (damnable) charge is indignantly denied.

It is in keeping with all the order of abuses heaped upon us; and fair minded people, even though they may differ with our principles, will agree that the great movement of labor is too generous, too humane and all powerful to resort to such despicable methods as would ruin property and destroy life and limb. Our efforts have been directed through all these years of oppression in saving and restoring life and protecting the minds and limbs of those who toil, and, at this hour while tolls the announcement of general labor success, we are still as ever extending the peacefully protecting influences of union labor to those who are still without our fold, and we are

not employing gun-cotton or sunken mines to enhance our successes.

The workers of California will, while resenting this latest insult to their honor and manhood, lend their moral and financial support to detect those who have been guilty of this terrible act, yet after all there prevails a reasonable doubt as to whether the Los Angeles "Times" building was destroyed through the treacherous scheming of the assassin or by some defective constructive agency in the building itself.

Those who are laying the charges of wholesale destruction of life and property at the open doors of labor could do much to atone for former vilifications would they but defer judgment until the hands of the law, aided by the California, or, I might say, the general labor movement, has determined the cause for the terrible effect.

Labor will vindicate itself from this terrible charge with far less difficulty than will those who have so readily created the accusations erase from their narrow, biased minds the stain of their latest slanderous effort, or bend even their pliable consciences in reconciliation to the great wrong committed.

We have been wronged so frequently and these wrongs as frequently righted that there is no trepidation as to the results of this latest false representation.

It is said by press reports that following the destruction of the "Times" building, bombs were found in close proximity to the residences of those closely connected with the publication or building destroyed; but these machines of destruction were so bunglingly placed as to create suspicion as to their real intent, and had they been placed there by those who intended deadly results, to say the least the attempt was most ridiculously weak, for judging from all available reports life and property would have been exempt from destruction even had there been explosions as a result of their placing.

While investigating and, we trust, discovering the agency which lead to the destruction of the "Times" building, we earnestly hope the investigation will also lead to the disclosing of the hand that placed these bombs, and which, like the former and more serious charge, is attributed to the labor movement.

Is it not possible that the bombs or explosives found on the premises of the "Times" owners were placed there by enemies of labor who saw in this the added opportunity to discredit the organized workers?

Reasonable thinking men of unionistic or other tendencies will ponder as to

what would have been gained for the cause of labor by the destruction of the "Times" building, and the consequent loss of life.

Union labor has had a hard up-hill battle in Los Angeles. It is safe to say that in no other city on this continent has there ever been such a relentless warfare prosecuted against the labor organizations as in the city of Los Angeles, and in no city have these attacks been met more fairly and honorably than by those at whom these attacks were directed.

Gradually union labor has been overcoming much of the discrimination and prejudice manifested against them in this California city because of the honorable and manly methods they have employed, and now if this frightful charge were to be proven against us, all our past efforts for peaceful adjustment would have been without avail; labor would have nothing to gain and all to lose by the destruction of the "Times" or other property, even were the act to be simply charged against us, much less proven.

A golden opportunity has presented itself to labor's enemies and they as ever have taken advantage of this opportunity to place additional slander and abuse at our threshold. We will live down this ridiculously malicious action and turn the falsehoods back in keeping with all the others created by the same minds and in the meantime we will aid the law with as much diligence as we have tried to assist in the creation of laws best calculated to preserve life, limb and property.

The union worker is a preserver of mankind, a protector in the fullest and most comprehensive sense of the term; he is a law maker, not a law breaker, and by none other are the laws of our land more religiously observed than by the very men so outrageously traduced.

However, we must accept this abuse temporarily and consider the source from which it comes, confident that full and complete investigation will determine the causes that created the destruction of the Los Angeles "Times" building and equally confident that organized labor will be completely vindicated and exonerated as concerns this latest cowardly imputation against men whose only aim has been to preserve their dignity and manhood and in preserving their trade union thus assist in preserving the laws of our land and the interests of those who toil for a livelihood.

Organized labor demands the fullest investigation.

THE FIGHT BETWEEN PRISON LABOR AND FREE LABOR.

A Prison Congress Delegate Discusses the Industrial Side of the Prison Question.

"One of the biggest questions to come before the International Prison Congress," said Mr. J. Lebovitz, delegate from the National Committee on Prison Labor, "is the prison labor problem.

"For the last one hundred years there has been a steady and bitter fight between the workingmen in prison and the workingmen outside of prison.

"Very few people realize how big an industrial army is cooped up in our prisons. The average penal population is over 100,000 able-bodied men. Most of them are not dangerous criminals at all, but simply ordinary workingmen who happened to trip for the first time.

"Once behind the bars, they have to be put to work, otherwise, if left to brood lone in their cells, they go mad. So it happens that most of our prisons are really big factory villages; if you were to enter an average prison shop, especially in states where the convicts are allowed to wear a blue jean uniform and let their hair grow, you would find it very difficult, if it were not for the presence of the guard with his loaded cane or rifle, to believe that you were not in an ordinary factory.

"In these prison factories, often controlled by contractors, they turn out millions of articles of every description—shoes, shirts, overalls, carpets, rugs, matting, chairs, brooms, brushes—most everything, in fact, you can think of.

"But when these goods go out into the open market the trouble begins. Convict labor, being practically slave labor, is sold so cheaply—sometimes as low as 30 cents a day—that the prison contractor is able to undersell outside manufacturers, who are in turn compelled to reduce wages in order to meet this competition. Naturally the free workingman rebels at this, so, as I said before, there has been a continuous battle between prison labor for the last hundred years. In New York City there were riots against convict labor competition as early as 1834, and the revised constitution of 1894 almost went on the rocks over this question, being saved only by the deft handling of Senator Root, who was one of the constitutional delegates. He was instrumental in passing an amendment which introduced what is called the 'state-use' system, that is, the employment of convicts in the manufacture of articles need-

ed by the state for use in its own institutions, such as uniforms for inmates of its asylums, furniture for its offices, brooms for the street cleaning department of its cities, etc. In this way the goods made in Sing Sing, Auburn and the other state prisons do not compete with other goods and, besides, cost the state so much less than goods bought in the open market would cost. But this has only half solved the problem. New York has succeeded in protecting its own manufacturers and workingmen against its own prisons; but it has not succeeded in keeping out prison-made goods from other states, which are dumped here in vast quantities and make mischief in a half dozen important industries.

"But other states haven't even solved the first half of the problem yet. There is scarcely a session of one of our state legislatures outside of New York at which this question does not come up in some vexing form or other. Recently, however, a National Committee on Prison Labor has been incorporated under the laws of the state of New York with the object of studying this question from every standpoint, and formulating some remedy which shall be just to all parties concerned, the state, the convict, the convict's family, the manufacturer, and the free laborer. The membership of this committee includes such men as Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill, of the Federal Bureau of Labor; Commissioner John Williams, of the New York Department of Labor; Mr. John Mitchell, of the American Federation of Labor; Prof. Charles R. Henderson, president of the coming International Prison Congress; Homer Folks, president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections; Mrs. Ballington Booth, of the Volunteers of America; Miss Helen V. Boswell, chairman of the Industrial Committee of the General Federations of Women's Clubs, who was chiefly instrumental in the organization of the committee, and many other representative social workers.

"The chairman, Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, and two other members of the committee—Commissioner of Labor Williams and Judge Baldwin, of Washington,—have spent the summer studying the convict labor system of Europe, and are expected back in time to participate in the sessions of the coming prison congress at Washington."

Let labor all along the line show by its patronage and encouragement that it appreciates the value of fair dealing and friendship. The Buck's Stove and Range Company under its new management has come to an entirely satisfactory agreement with organized labor.

A DAILY PAPER THAT STANDS FOR THE UNION SHOP.

In these days of a daily press either owned or subsidized by organized capital, it is good to hear a voice from that quarter that neither condemns nor apologizes for organized labor. Such a voice is that of the Boston Globe, which recently published the following editorial on the union and nonunion shops. Said the Globe:

"Persons who are opposed to the union shop because it interferes with individual liberty, either forget that there is no such thing as individual liberty or they have never given sufficient thought to the subject to reason out this fact. National, state and municipal law is an interference with what is called individual liberty. Individual liberty is anarchy under another name.

"The union shop says to the man whose standard of life is low and whose environment is degrading and who has no home or family ties, that the citizens having high ideals and responsible family ties shall not be dragged down to the level of the irresponsible and shiftless.

"The non-union shop, which is termed the open shop, is desired by some employers because the non-unionist can be used to tear down the living and moral standard of the better class of workers.

"In the social life the handsome streets, dwelling and restricted districts of the so-called better classes represent the union, while the slums represent the miscalled free workmen or non-unionist.

"The union shop protects the home and keeps the children at school. The non-union shop degrades the home and furnishes a treadmill for the children who should be at school.

"The union shop forbids one to burn his home in the exercise of his individual liberty because he endangers the property of his neighbor. The union shop forbids one to maintain a nuisance of any kind which endangers the health of the community.

"What any community may do to protect itself against danger of any kind and to advance its material interest, the trade unions may justly do, and may with the same legal and moral right frown upon, resent and prevent any invasion of its rights as can any community, state or nation.

"For reasons herein given, and for many others, the union or contract shop is just, hence elevating."

STATUS OF INJUNCTION SUITS.

President Gompers, in his annual report to the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, presented the status of the Buck Injunction case and other proceedings of the same kind, as follows:

It becomes my duty to report to you the status of the injunction issued by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, as sustained after being modified by the Court of Appeals of the District, and of the contempt case resulting in the sentences imposed upon "Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison," of twelve, nine, and six months' imprisonment, respectively. The American Federation of Labor directed that such steps as may be necessary be taken to carry both the injunction case and the contempt case growing out of it to the Supreme Court of the United States, in order that we may obtain a decision which shall define Labor's rights in so far as it can be done in connection with these cases.

It is not necessary to burden this report with a repetition of the history of the case. That history may be found in the reports which the Executive Council and I had the honor to submit to the Toronto Convention, printed proceedings of which have been provided here for each delegate.

In compliance with instructions, our counsel took an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States in the Buck's Stove and Range Company's suit for injunction, and they also presented a petition, supported by brief, for the issuance of a writ of certiorari in the contempt proceedings under which "Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison" were held as guilty of contempt of court for an alleged violation of the injunction and sentenced to imprisonment. The petition was presented to the court November 29, 1909. The petition and brief are so lucid and interesting that I command them to your consideration and to that of all others interested in this phase of the law. I deemed them of sufficient importance to publish them in the issue of the American Federationist of January, 1910. The United States Supreme Court took the petition under advisement, and a week later, that is, on December 6, granted the petition. It should be stated that the counsel opposed to us also appealed against the modified injunction of the Court of Appeals, and that after the granting of the writ of certiorari the United States Supreme Court directed the two branches of the case to be considered and discussed at the same time.

In consequence of two vacancies in the United States Supreme Court, and the

general recognition of the prime importance of the principles involved in these cases, it was deemed advisable by our counsel that an effort should be made to have the case argued before and decided by a full bench. With this view the United States Supreme Court agreed at the October, 1910, term and deferred the argument until January 16, 1911.

The origin of these cases was in the dispute between organized labor and the Buck Stove and Range Company; which, under the old management and policy, sought the injunction and obtained the decree in the contempt proceedings. It is gratifying to report officially that the industrial dispute between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company was, in July last, adjusted upon mutually honorable terms. The decease of the President of the company, Mr. Van Cleave, gave the opportunity for the new manager of the company to carry out his lifelong policy of friendliness toward and co-operation with organized labor.

And now the opportunity is afforded to disclose the correctness of the position which we took in the contempt proceedings; that is to say, the American Federation of Labor's representatives made earnest efforts to come to an honorable understanding and adjustment of the matters in dispute between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor before the company's products were placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list. The negotiations were conducted then, as they were later, by Vice-President Valentine, who, being President of the International Molders' Union, was authorized to make, and did make, efforts to bring about an adjustment. At that time we were not warranted in making public the names of the men either directly or indirectly associated with the company through whom such efforts were made. Since Labor's agreement of last July with the company we feel justified in stating that the efforts were made through Messrs. Hogan and Cribben, the then executive officers of the National Stove Founders' Defense Association, of which the Buck's Stove and Range Company was a member, and Mr. F. W. Gardner, the present chairman of the board of directors of the company. This fact disproves the position taken by Justice Wright when he declared that no such effort had been made by us.

The agreement reached between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company was published in the September, 1910, issue of The American Federationist, and a later agreement in compliance therewith was entered into at St. Louis, September 7, 1910. In connection with the published agreement, at

tention should be called to the fact that upon the advice of our counsel the representatives of Labor requested that those provisions in section four of the agreement by which the company was to withdraw its attorneys from the cases pending in the courts, be nullified. The company readily agreed to our request.

It will be remembered that the counsel opposed to us in the case are retained by the so-called Anti-Boycott Association, and had appeared for the company as a member of that association. Under the old management and policy this was agreeable to both company and association. Our attorneys advised us that if we desired the United States Supreme Court to pass upon the principle underlying the judicial controversy, it would be unwise to insist upon the company's withdrawal of its attorneys of record in the case. In view of this fact, and the further fact that the attorneys of record opposed to us are equally with us fully intent upon having these fundamental principles determined by the United States Supreme Court, we were glad to avail ourselves of the suggestion of our attorneys, which, as already stated, was cordially acceded to by the company.

However, from any standpoint, it has been the purpose of the American Federation of Labor, ever since injunctions of this character have been issued, to have the United States Supreme Court pass judgment upon them. They are fundamental. They strike into the very bottom of the principles of personal liberty and equality before the law. If it were our purpose to avoid the consequences of the assertion of our rights, there has not been a time during these entire proceedings in the last five years when we could not have avoided them. But there had been developed in employers of labor and business men a mental attitude and a condition in which they undertook to deny to the working people of our country rights which are accorded to all other citizens. The issue was clean-cut, and we have been glad of the opportunity to meet it. For years we have endeavored to make this issue before the courts. The dispute with the Bucks Stove and Range Company and the injunction issued upon its petition afforded the desired opportunity. At our own wish, as well as upon the direction of the American Federation of Labor, advantage was taken of this injunction in order that the case might be made full and complete and the issue tested before the several judicial tribunals until it had reached the United States Supreme Court. Inasmuch as the opportunity is afforded equally to labor's opponents, I feel confident that they also will be glad that the questions at issue

shall be determined by our highest judicial tribunal.

Suits Against Labor Under Anti-Trust Law.

There are three suits for damages now pending in the Federal Courts under the Sherman Anti-Trust law:

1. Loewe & Co. against the United Hatters of North America.
2. A. Sitomer against the Shirt-Waist Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers' unions and others, and—
3. C. W. Post against the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of a number of affiliated organizations and the new management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company.

Inasmuch as I have discussed the Hatters' case in the leading article, in the March, 1910, issue of American Federationist under the caption of "The Hatters' Case—The Sherman Law—Amend It or End It," and in the editorial, "Labor Organizations Must Not Be Outlawed—The Supreme Court's Decision in the Hatters' Case," printed in March, 1908, issue, and in view of the fact that the Executive Council will deal fully with this subject in its report to this Convention, I deem it but necessary to state that after a trial before the Federal Court of the District of Connecticut, running from the first Monday in October, 1909, to February 4, 1910, the jury, under instruction of the judge, awarded damages against the Hatters, the sum being \$222,000, with costs and counsel fees.

In connection with the strike of the shirt-waist makers of New York, a suit was brought under the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust law by A. Sitomer against the officers and members of the local union, the officers of the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union, and a number of humane women who interested themselves in securing victory for the girls engaged in that great contest. Injuries in the amount of \$150,000 are alleged and \$450,000 damages demanded. An endeavor was made to have the defendants in this suit present a comprehensive defense, so that the fundamental principles involved in Labor's contention in regard to the Anti-Trust law may again be brought to the attention of the courts. My hope is that if a defense is made which shall comprehensively and fundamentally bring the cause before the lower courts, and if necessary through the other courts until it shall reach the United States Supreme Court, we may have a full review by the courts and a possible substantial reversal of the decision in the Hatters' case.

Concurrent with the unsuccessful effort of C. W. Post to secure an injunction to restrain Labor from carrying out its agreement with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, he brought suit as a minority stockholder against the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of a number of affiliated organizations jointly with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, alleging \$250,000 damages, and claiming threefold damages, or \$750,000. As a minority stockholder of the company it is the firm conviction of leading members in the legal profession that the suit can not be successfully prosecuted, and yet it has been necessary to be represented by counsel and to put in an appearance. All parties named in the complaint, and who have been served with a process have conveyed to me power of attorney, as President of the American Federation of Labor, to defend them in the case and to share equally the costs of defense.

In the October issue of *The American Federationist* the matter is more fully stated in an editorial under the caption, "Post—Chief Mischief Maker." This matter must necessarily receive due consideration at the hands of this Convention and further authority and directions given.

In New Orleans seventy-five workmen were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, because the men authorized a strike in sympathy with fellow-workers engaged in a dispute with their employers.

A few months ago six farmers in Kentucky were indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, their offense being that they had co-operated to obtain better prices for their product.

Let any right-thinking, liberty-loving American read these cases, the reports of which have been made to the American Federation of Labor conventions, the editorials in *The American Federationist* dealing with these subjects, as well as the grave opinions by high legal authorities which have been published therein, and he will become convinced of the great injustice done to the workers by the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. By that interpretation its provisions have been extended to the voluntary organizations of the working people, and by it the toilers are and may be mulcted in damages for the exercise of their personal endeavors to protect and promote their own interests. Further, by that interpretation, at the whim, fancy, or pique of a Federal administration, its officers or subordinates may proceed criminally against the men of labor because of efforts

they may make in furtherance of a fair standard of wages, hours, and conditions of employment by withholding their labor-power and their patronage. Labor will continue to emphasize its protest against the conception and decision, whether judicial or otherwise, which would place in the same category the trusts and corporations, dealing with material things, the products of labor, and the voluntary associations of men and women, the sole purpose of which is to protect the physical well-being of their members.

Every effort made by the American Federation of Labor and the men of labor, whether political, legislative, or industrial, in the past several years, was not only justified, but necessary to safeguard the right of organization of the toilers. Their safety and well-being are involved. It is the bounden duty of the workers to subordinate political partisanship in the one great effort to which we should concentrate our best energies, to attain the right to organize.

FORESHADOWS AND REFLECTIONS.

By John B. Powell, in *The Carpenter*.

Mankind is thoughtful and thankful when fallacies and falsehoods are exposed. Human kindness stirs the sensitive. A large portion of this world's people cherish, first, enthusiasm; a larger portion seek the sober, second thought when a long and tedious journey, an injustice or a burden or a swift and dangerous pace is before them.

Fancy and fiction charm in leisure hours, excite in idle ones, but seldom charm indolent life. Busy moments, unlike narrow trends, rarely yield to or condemn seductive tales. Fancy, through its powers, may originate charming whims. Fiction can breathe the possible into what is possible and probable, but not into what is neither. Life can not be repeated; its close is simply certain, sure and final. What has been, may, in some form, be again, and what has fallen to one person may fall again and again or never to the same or another. Things real, actual, of real worth and actual value, "aid this majestic world to move." Their power, although changeable, may be imitated, even duplicated, but whatever they are, circumstances, conditions and occasions generally rule them.

Some form of curiosity or interest is almost certain to constantly hover over things with or without life; among such is man; also woman. If, however, a gentle course, a thoughtful step, nothing dangerous but instead intellectual charm appears, may we not be thankful and sensitively appreciative, notwithstanding perplexities might arise as with "The Plain Ploughman of Kildare."

"Things and men and women have their elements, in the search for which temper has its turn. Hang it; the question is—which to love most?"

The courtesy of the presiding officer permitted me last winter to occupy a seat on the stage of a very large public hall wherein a great national labor union was holding its annual convention. There were, in round numbers, twelve hundred and eighty delegates present, representing local bodies whose membership reflected an industry without which this country would be back into its pristine state, so far as this special industry gives might and strength to the living life. Both sexes and almost every race on the face of the globe were represented in some capacity by those upon whom my eyes fell. Over all, however, rested a shade of industrial gloom. The organization had been for some time and was still bound by wage agreements, the scale of which was far below the possible in providing a wage sufficient to meet the prevailing high cost of living. Prices had advanced and were still soaring higher and higher—and those who were getting, aye, even making them, were obtaining greater profits, though still paying the low cost of natural, physical and mechanical manufacture and production. Complaint against this sinister condition was pregnant, not with ill temper but with deep dissatisfaction. The murmurs were clear, distinct but patient and protesting and only vigorous and vehement where faith and promise had been violated.

Something else of grave importance seemed to bind all to submission. Nevertheless, all recognized the fact that it was not time to revolt, a recognition that manifestly had a moral influence over the vast throng before me. They had, by their agreements, chosen to be their own masters, hence they were not slaves. Nevertheless they were toilers. What they did, however, required a brave, courageous and intelligent energy and action. That which influenced them advised all to bear and forebear for their cause and for honor's sake and not let time for triumph over wrong and injustice come upon and find them unprepared to grasp victory. Certain to place them in position to remove what, under changed and changing conditions, was bearing down upon them as tons of deprivation and distress. What was that something? Honor! Aye, honor. It bound them morally and almost religiously; they looked upon it as the most sacred and binding part of their contract.

Less than a month later another convention was held in the same city. A hotel convention room was its choice for

meeting purposes. All were present to consider the high cost of living. The body was composed of nearly two hundred gentlemen, most of whom rated their personal wealth among the millions. Quietly I sought an estimate of the combined wealth the gathering represented. It was a few thousand over the half billion figure.

Long and significant is one—really the first declarative resolution, which in prefatory phrasings recited "The scarcity of materials and skilled labor in manufacturing lines," and a "lethargy in production and manufacture of living necessities and of home and imported commodities" as "causes for economic alarm." Ambiguous as this was, I believed I understood it, but what occurred to me was that the toilers evinced no disposition to deceive the public.

The last winter month was going. The previous summer's production had been better than normal, the farmer had been busy and everything he could throw or had thrown from field, farm, forest, orchard or garden upon the market had met heavy demand, ready sale and prices had made him no poorer but others, save the consumer, richer. Nature had decreased no supply; indeed, in its own organic way had added to quality and quantity and only capital controlled the purchasing and selling price. Whatever price it chose to ask or offer was optional and contingent with it, knowing its money power was despotic over both and could control necessities.

All labor, bound or unbound by contract or having its own fixed price, was waiting for employment. The people could not answer, since they, too, were under the same power. How long was the burden and oppression to last? Has it ended or is the end in sight? I believe the latter is in view. The people are rising, and in the calmness and firmness of their temper are recognizing organized labor as the silent but certain potent to bring about a new order of things since it has been the artist that has painted in clear, distinct colors and wonderful delineations of truth and fact the actual cause and condition. We see this potency in the removal of the hood-placed by political hands, from the public's eyes. Judicial forms are trembling, a power is asserting itself. Paralysis for those hands and those forms lives in it. The laugh, the scorn and the ridicule of the people are with the contempt and disdain of organized labor for the political sycophants and heroes and the Parrys, Posts, Kirbys and Davenports and every other factor now subsidizing courts, government and press. They are weeping in their ice houses now. The hour is on. Let the demand of organized

labor be firm, but united and peaceful. Your wisdom will not be appreciated by C. W. Post, the National Association of Manufacturers or its organ, American Industries, but none will tell you in more generous words that it is more worthy of fame and honor than the present representatives of the Stove Founders' National Defense Association and the Buck Stove and Range Company which have joined hands with organized labor to secure industrial peace and prosperity.

BE TRUE TO YOURSELF AND YOUR UNION.

By A. R. Wyatt, in the Carpenter.

During my twenty-five years in the labor movement I have made a careful study of the workings of the various labor organizations, and the characteristics of the men that belong to them, and while watching the movement as it progressed I find that the individual member is not as true to his fellow men as he ought to be, and he is lacking in his efforts to help better the condition of his fellow men, as well as his own. I also find that the attitude of some individuals whose object is to control and build fences for the purpose of protecting their own individual interests, and the achievements of the projects of their personal and intimate friends, is one of the greatest evils in the labor movement. Are such men true unionists? No, they are not; they are not true to themselves or true to their organizations. When a man joins a labor organization he does it for the purpose of protecting the interests of his fellow men as well as his own, and the little ones dependent upon him, and not for the purpose of simply bettering his own condition. If a man is a good union man he will keep a watchful eye upon his organization, and those who are seeking to control it for the purpose of accomplishing something for himself. The only way to do this is to attend the meetings of the local union and watch any movement that would tend to interfere with the good and welfare of his organization and teach the members thereof the justice, wisdom and nobility of the labor movement. Teach him the power of the union label, teach him why he should demand it and see that it is on all goods he buys. If all the working men in this country would do this and prove themselves true to themselves and their organization, and true to the labor movement, there would not be a non-union product on the market. And why? Because there would be no sale for them. The trouble with the working people in this country is that they are too much concerned in themselves, and pay but little attention to the welfare of their fellowmen; they are like the fence builder who builds his fences, and for

what? For the purpose of controlling his organization to accomplish something for himself, and to hell with the other fellow. Are these men union men? Are they true to their organization? No! they are traitors to the honest cause of organized labor. If a man is a good union man he will do right, he will fear no man; let him fight for that which is right and tremble not in the presence of his foes, for his cause is a just one. Therefore, let every man be true to his organization, and if he is true to his organization he will be true to the labor movement. He should demand the union label at all times and by doing so we will force the goods made by union men and women on the market and cause to be removed from the market the products of the scab and strikebreaker, the destroyer of the peace and happiness of the cottage fireside. Let us hope that the time will come when all working men and women will demand the union label on all goods they buy, and the non-union man will be something of the past; but in order to do this we must be united and work together for the benefit of all concerned, and we are bound to win. Let us remember the famous words of Lincoln, in his famous debate with Stephen A. Douglas, in the contest for the United States senatorship of Illinois, when he said: "A house divided against itself can not stand." Therefore, let us stand side by side for one common purpose and defend those rights that justly belong to us, and better the condition of the great toiling masses.

BUILDING TRADES MECHANICS' COUNCIL.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 5, 1910.

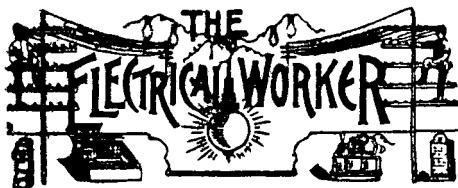
To the Officers and Members of all Organized Labor Affiliated with the American Federation—Greeting.

Brothers: There is a large hotel being constructed near the new union station (North Capitol and E Street N. W.) in this city, and the general contractor, S. J. Prescott, is a bitter enemy of all organized labor and employs only non-union and scabs in every branch of his work. All organized labor in this city has been injured by this man and we are unable to make his shop fair. We, therefore, request you to not patronage this monument to scab labor when visiting this city; and we also request you to kindly inform your friends who may be expecting to make a trip here to not patronize this scab hotel. With best wishes, I am,

Yours in unity,

W. S. McDonald,

Rec. Sec. Building Trades Council.
1135 Park Place N. E.,
Washington, D. C.



Official Journal of the
INTERNATIONAL
BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS
Published Monthly.

PETER W. COLLINS, Editor,

Pierik Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., NOVEMBER, 1910.

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The first of each month is the closing date; all
copy must be in our hands on or before.

**TRADES UNIONISM WILL LIVE AND
CONTINUE THE FIGHT.**

Taking into consideration all that organized workmen have striven for and attained in the past and all that we hope to do in the future, trades unionism is going to live and continue its fighting, no matter how mighty its earthly foes may be, for its mission is a righteous one, and its work will never end until poverty and the unhappiness it brings cease to exist. Is there not enough and to spare for all in this world? Yes. Then why should they who toil year in and year out continue a "hand to mouth" existence while the foulest and greatest gambling hell which has its abode in Wall street is allowed to gather up the fullness of the land and the scoundrels who control its blighting machinery revel in the millions they have wrung from the life-giving streams of the nation, carrying woe to industry and idleness and suffering to the toiler? Why, we ask, should this Wall street gambling monster be permitted to toy and play with the financial and industrial welfare of the nation while the robbers gamble and fight among themselves as to who shall have the controlling interest in the wealth that has been filched from the people? Is there any earthly reason for its existence? If so, we have failed to find it or learn of it. In our humble opinion, it is time that our American citizenship asserted itself and demanded from its public servants in no uncertain terms legislation that will annihilate every vestige of the blight that this den of thieves has periodically cast upon our beloved country.

These and other gamblers of high finance are responsible for the panicky conditions of today. They are the men who have not hesitated to discredit the nation and its president in order that their scheming designs may bear fruit and that they may by financial manipulation gain control of rival corporate interests. J. Pierpont Morgan, the so-called "savior," and the men associated with him recently made over \$12,000,000 in the saving process, which at the same time gave to the United States Steel Trust the absolute control and monopoly of the ore lands of the country, part of which were formerly controlled by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Its holdings are now 2,400,000,000 tons, and its promoters say that they cannot be exhausted in a hundred years, while at the same time it has secured 2,000,000,000 tons of coal properties from its rival, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, which is now no more.

In his "saving the country" process and charitable work, we are told, J. Pierpont Morgan also crushed out of existence the Heinze Copper Company and



placed all its properties in the hands of H. H. Rogers and William Rockefeller or the Amalgamated Copper Company, the biggest monopoly of its kind in the world, and this squeezing by the big captains of finance will go on and on until they get what they want, no matter whether the wheels of honest industry hum or not, or whether thousands of honest working men and women walk the streets in idleness and in want of bread.

Trades unionism any more than the president of the United States is not responsible, wholly or in part, for the depression, mistrust and want of confidence that confront a prosperous country. Organized labor may suffer with the rest of the people before a better condition is secured, but it will stand firmly in its purposes just the same, and the day is approaching when labor in its fullest meaning will come into its own—Bricklayer and Mason.

UNDERPAID LABOR.

Society has been guilty of many crimes since the dawn of civilization, but nothing that it has ever done has been so terribly wrong, so horribly unjust, as its present system of underpaying its laborers. If a man devotes his time to the performance of duties that have been assigned to him by another, he is entitled to just compensation, and if he does not receive this, he is robbed. Moreover, in such cases the effect of this robbery is felt both more widely and more seriously than any ordinary kind of thieving—that which is committed at the point of a pistol, etc.—for it is not the man alone that is robbed nor the man's time alone that is stolen. The thing that is actually taken is the means to provide for and educate his family properly, that the children for whom he is responsible may live to be good, strong men—mentally, morally and physically good citizens.

Of course, it is easy enough to say that every man is free to choose his employment, and that nobody is obliged to work for another at an unjust rate of compensation. Theoretically this may be correct, but in actual life it is the contrary that is true. There are plenty of men today who are not able to choose their means of livelihood or to select employers. They must work because, if they did not work, they could not live, and they must take what they can get simply because there is no opportunity for them to secure higher pay elsewhere. As the direct result of this utterly unjust system there is a great deal of poverty in this world that might easily be prevented if there was but some method by which employers could be compelled to pay a decent wage instead

of being permitted to secure workmen at the lowest market price.

Although this may sound radical, it is not so radical that it is not in perfect accordance with the conclusions presented by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical on labor. At the same time he did not hesitate to declare that the compensation of a laborer ought to be sufficient "to support him in reasonable and frugal comfort. If, through necessity or fear of a worse evil," he says, "the working-man accepts harder conditions, because an employer or a contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice."

It is only necessary that we should apply these words to existing conditions to prove conclusively that the strong mass of society is guilty of a grave crime against the weaker portion, and especially against the unskilled laborers, to whom it gives employment at a rate of pay that is so far below all necessary standards of living that no man can live, marry and bring up a family decently upon such an income. By taking all his time it shuts him out from the opportunity to increase his income or better his position, and yet it fails utterly to provide him with sufficient means to support even his vital needs.

The worst of it is that in most cases this condition is due to the unwillingness of the employer to pay decent wages. If he could not afford to do this, there might be some excuse, but when the men of the company offending are able to pay higher wages and decline to do so through fear that their own income may be so reduced as to compel them to forego some luxuries which they now enjoy, the crime assumes an extremely serious aspect.

Undoubtedly the time will come when society will take these matters into its own hands, and will specify precisely the lowest limit at which a man may be permitted to work, but until the state actually awakens to realization of its responsibilities and passes a minimum wage law, the duty of being just will continue to devolve upon the employer. In other words, if the employer is sufficiently dishonest and selfish to drive a sharp bargain, he may continue to hire his workmen at practically starvation wages, for there is no law to prevent him from entering into this sort of a contract with the unfortunate people who are at his mercy. Not that it is any less the crime, but until public opinion has been sufficiently aroused to say, "So far you may go, but no farther," there is absolutely no way of preventing this entirely unnecessary poverty.—New York Commercial Advertiser.

FROM PAGES 801, 802, 803 OF THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' JOURNAL.

On September 7th representatives of the international unions included in the agreement by which the controversy between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor was adjusted last July, met with the management of the firm in St. Louis and finally adjusted all differences. While on their way to St. Louis an effort was being made to secure a temporary injunction from a Federal court, which would restrain the management from placing into operation the provisions of the agreement which had been entered into on July 19th.

The individual who was endeavoring to prevent a resumption of friendly relations between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor was none less than the malodorous C. W. Post, of Battle Creek. This person was the owner of 7 1-3 per cent of the firm's stock, and applied as a stockholder for an injunction. For present purposes it is sufficient to state that the court declined to issue it.

Desirous of securing what questionable notoriety and free advertising which might follow, this person then filed a suit for damages in the Federal court under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, making the officers of the American Federation of Labor, those representing the international unions interested in the agreement and the Buck's Stove and Range Company jointly defendants.

The efforts which this person made to prevent a mutually friendly and satisfactory understanding between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and the representatives of the unions whose members will be employed by that firm failed completely. The plant is running with workmen in the several departments employed under conditions which meet with the approval and endorsement of organized labor.

There is one feature connected with the settlement of all differences between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor of which little has yet been said, but which may become a prominent factor in the near future, this being the efforts made by prominent and influential trade-union haters to injure the present management of the firm.

Shortly after the general agreement of July 19, American Industries, the national publication of the National Association of Manufacturers, contained a most bitter, vindictive and scurrilous personal attack on Mr. Frederic W. Gardner, using language in referring to his action in entering into friendly relations

with organized labor, which is only adopted in discussing those who are undeserving of the respect of their fellow men. Other publications patronized and subsidized by the anti-trade union organizations contained articles referring in a similar strain to Mr. Gardner.

Liberal extracts from these articles were reproduced in a number of the leading newspapers, and in many instances marked copies of these were sent to stove dealers.

That there was some general and widespread movement directing this effort to do damage to the Buck's Stove and Range company was made still more evident when many of the metropolitan newspapers which had referred to the attack which had been made on Mr. Gardner, failed to contain any reference to the final agreement which had been reached with the unions' representatives in St. Louis on September 7th, although ample notice was given to the efforts to prevent any settlement which had been made by the Post person.

From what has transpired it is evident that some powerful influences desire to inflict all punishment possible upon Mr. Gardner and the Buck's Stove and Range Company, because he has been broad enough to assert and apply his conviction that labor as well as capital has the right to organization, and the benefits to be derived therefrom.

Acting under cover and secretly this opposition may be able to do serious injury to the firm's business, unless organized labor does its full duty and rallies to the support of Mr. Gardner and his company. Organized labor and its friends are those who will purchase the larger portion of this firm's product, and it has become our duty under the circumstances to assume the responsibility of keeping stove dealers and the public in general well informed of the fact that the relations between trade-unions and the Buck's Stove and Range Company are of the most friendly and satisfactory nature, and that Mr. Gardner has always been recognized and appreciated as a true friend by all trade-unionists with whom he has come in contact.

If the opposition which is exerting its influence to injure the firm at this time, is allowed to succeed it would be a most severe reflection on organized labor, and would seemingly indicate that we were indifferent to the welfare and success of those who publicly expressed their friendship for us, when they were attacked for so doing.

Just as we have already proven our readiness and ability to defend ourselves from the attacks of our opponents, so must we show ourselves ready to assist our friends.

CORRESPONDENCE

LOCAL UNION NO. 247.

Schenectady, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1910.
Editor Electrical Worker.

The following resolutions were adopted by Local Union No. 247:

Whereas, Our Brother W. J. Mullen, has passed away on the 6th day of November, 1910, after a short illness, and,

Whereas, Our Brother was an upright man, and devoted member, having faithfully performed his duties, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local Union No. 247, extend to the sorrowing family our heartfelt sympathy in their hour of bereavement, and be it

Resolved, That the charter of this Local Union be draped for a period of 30 days as a token of respect to the memory of our departed Brother, and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased Brother, and to the Electrical Workers' Official Journal, and that the same be spread upon the minutes of our union.

Fraternally,
J. F. Heath,
Recording Secretary.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 1, 1910.
To Electrical Worker:

The officers and members of Local Union No. 1, I. B. E. W., extend greeting to all loyal Local Unions, and desire to say we are still inexistence and standing the false reports very well. We know our stand is right and propose to remain true to the I. B. E. W. Our proportions are not as great as the unaffiliated local, but I think we are growing, and at any rate we are healthy and able to stand hardships, that bluff luke warm member. We have lost and gained, but the world over will show men that think more of luxuries than many principle. The membership of No. 1 are cheerful for every dollar they get is honestly earned, and not like boodlers and unprincipled leaders, they have no terror of future developments, affecting their chances. The men comprising our membership are not all old timers, as the term may apply but are men of good principle. Knowing they have not been deceived by any of the officers but have been brought as a body and as individuals unto all matters pertaining to the organization. Our organizer is one of us, not one selected by some one else to drive men to any extreme, caring little what the future may bring to the

rank and file, so they get the hard earned dollar of the journeyman. While the honest mechanic does not think any one would falsify statements or resort to subterfuge, soley on personal agrandizement. The rank and file are capable and willing to earn their money with tools and hard knocks, but can be shown where he is being imposed on and led by men who gain their confidence any old way. If you look this case over carefully, you will find that the men who are leading the unaffiliated Electrical Workers, could not hold a job with the average contractor. They have brains, but not principle that goes to make good union men. I think unionism is a religion. Charity, is the main stay to all religions and is taught us from our childhood. Now I want to know, if the Devine Ruler endows one with more ability than the other does? He places the one deficient here to be abused, or protested by the greater favored. Men are all equal, remember the term is men, the meaning is not human brutes, as the dog in the manger, or as the miser applies, but men that are willing to surrender, some to assist his fellow not so fortunate as himself. Trials are different. Misfortune overtakes us in all kinds of ways and with some small matters depress and discourage, while others will brush them aside, as I would a fly alighting on my head. When you help one of these to bear his troubles you are practicing true charity, and the pleasure is all yours. There is no man so far gone to the bad, but has some conscience remaining and can be got at some way. You may not be able to drive or bluff him, then try coaxing, and nine times out of ten you will bring him. I know men in the craft that if prosperity were to strike them and there should be more coming their way than they really needed, they would be doing overtime to help their fellow craftman who had not been as fortunate, and in nearly every instance you will find those men capable and honest mechanics.

I could moralize for a day, but as my time is taken up trying to live up to my doctoring, I will draw to a close, hoping for a speedy amalgamation of the honest element, and purging from the ranks the trouble breeders, so that we can have clear sailing and good times again for the I. B. E. W.

Always at your service, I remain,
Fraternally,
Baldy.

Gatum, Canal Zone, Nov. 5, 1910.

Mr. Peter W. Collins,
International Secretary.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed find circular letter to Electrical Workers of the Canal Zone, which is purported to be the handiwork of one J. W. Murphy. Do you recognize the signature? Among other things, I learn by this that the general organizer of Central and South America holds the rank of captain. Has our organization the power to confer military titles? If so, forward a lot of blank commissions as we don't wish to have prospective members corralled by the promise of an empty title. You will also note in the "Canal Record" that they propose paying fabulous death and accident benefits, though he has not told any one to whom be broached the subject of joining his organization that they anticipated raising the dues or levying any unusual assessments. You will see by a perusal of the "Record" and circular that this is a "good thing." But for whom? This would fit in fine in "Frenzied Finance," or it may be that they intend to liquidate in "stage money. (I have talked with one of the steam shovel men and he knows nothing of a delegate being empowered to attend the meeting mentioned in the "Canal Record." We have joined the Trades Council here—had our delegate at the last meeting.) You will also note by circular that this is indeed becoming a very democratic organization; that is, if democracy is synonymous for license. (See due card of Bro. A. E. Thonet, who appears to have been initiated August 24, 1910, because he may issue due cards and membership cards with impunity. Thonet did pay him for the initiation stamp and the two months dues you see on the card; but he saw the error of his way in time and we've since initiated him. He nor the Mr. Wietzel mentioned in the "Record" as trustee, have never attended any meetings of that organization. Hence, it is a very democratic organization. We may all be honorary members for all I know.) You may look this stuff over and may take my word for it that it is authentic—that is, has having been forwarded to Bro. Thonet. Also advise me as to the manner of ordering the "Worker" and whether we can force workers on the isthmus, though working at this or other trades, to deposit traveling cards; also whether you can notify any card men you are carrying on the G. O. books to do so at once. I believe you have one or two at present. Please answer as soon as possible and oblige,

Yours fraternally,
J. W. Smith,
Fin. Sec. L. U. 677.

P. S.—"It is to laugh" that I send you these. We got Harry Meyers' dope, as I guess all the locals did.

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 21, 1910.

To the Officers and Members of the Metal Trades Council affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and all Members of Organized Labor. Greeting:

The Board of Commerce of the City of Detroit is advertising for skilled labor for all branches of trade in the papers of our city, and that the workingmen to whom this glittering prospect of remunerative employment may not be deceived and disappointed, we therefore beg to enlighten you as to the real situation as far as it applies to the local industrial conditions here in Detroit.

We do not care to scrutinize the motives which may actuate the employers of labor organized in the Board of Commerce to glut the local labor market with labor, but this much is a fact. The supply far exceeds the demand, and for every job offered in no matter what industry, or no matter what kind of work, there are scores of anxious applicants.

Fully 18,000 to 20,000 skilled mechanics are walking the streets of Detroit, looking for work day after day. A man out of work here has a hard time indeed to find employment.

The arrival of fellow men from other cities therefore will only increase the ranks of the unemployed, and have a tendency of lowering the wages of those who are working. Men who are lured into this city by the glowing advertisements of the Board of Commerce and the different manufacturers, are certain to be disappointed in their hopes and expectations. You can readily make a test of the truth of this statement, by demanding from the Board of Commerce or other manufacturers a guarantee of work, should one of your number desire to come here.

No such assurance will be given you, and then you can draw your inference as to the motives of these high sounding advertisements.

Brothers, we are trying to organize Detroit, and this is one of the plans of the manufacturers have adopted to keep us from being successful.

Detroit is the lowest paid Metal Trades center in the United States.

In your own interests in the meantime you will kindly see that this note of warning reaches all the laboring people of your city, and kindly read this circular in all your meetings, and do all you can to assist us by giving it all the publicity you can.

Kindly let us hear from you as to the conditions of the Metal crafts in your city.

Fraternally yours,
Otto Gersabeck, Jr., Secretary.
1525 Belvidere Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 14, 1910.

To The Editor:

I deem it my duty to warn the parent of boys, that contemplate apprenticing them in any factory of the Saddlery and Harness industry, except where the number is limited, to thoroughly investigate the conditions prevailing, before giving your consent and being a party to the crime of enslaving your boy and placing him in a condition of servitude, for the rest of his life, without just compensation.

The facts in connection with this industry as it effects the future of the boy are: Without the number of apprentices are limited the boy will never become a mechanic in the trade and will never be able to command a scale of wages sufficient to occupy the intended position in life, equality with all mankind, or will he be able to rear and educate a family of children, sufficiently to enable them to occupy a position other than one of servitude with all the trials and the accompanying denials of the luxuries of life and many of the things, under the American standard of living, classed as necessities.

Some of the manufacturers in this line are filling their factories with boys and each one is put to work upon some piece of harness, and under instruction he is taught how to make this particular piece, and thus becomes a part of a machine but never a mechanic, therefore occupies only an infinitesimal position and completely at the mercy of a class of employers that have demonstrated by instituting this system into their factories, the greed for gain is greater than the welfare of the human family.

In factories where we have working agreements, the apprentice is taught step by step intricacies of the trade and if he applies himself and has any mechanical instinct at the close of his apprenticeship, he becomes a mechanic in his chosen trade and able to build a harness or saddle complete and command the wages of a mechanic, prevailing and I wish to assure you such wage is totally insufficient at the present time to support a family as they should be supported.

Beware of the manufacturer who cries down the system of trade unions in limiting the number of apprentices, endeavoring to show that it limits the opportunity of the boys to become self supporting; to the contrary, their purpose is to lower the standard of living and to make slaves out of the boys that will serve their purpose when they become men, totally unfitted as mechanics, to command the respects and compensation as such.

Such employers are only striving to reduce the cost of production at the expense of the workers and through combination market the product at the topmost price, in direct violation of the Anti-Trust Laws.

Parents who may see this article, if you are contemplating placing your boy, or if he has commenced under the conditions here described, to learn any trade connected with the Saddlery and Harness Industry, you will do your son valuable service and exercise a moral duty to your child by causing him to give up the work or to banish any idea he may have of engaging in it.

Fraternally,

W. E. Bryan, General President,
International United Brotherhood of
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.

The San Francisco Labor Council, in regular session assembled, on Friday evening, October 28, 1910, enacts the following resolutions:

"Whereas, A deplorable condition exists in the City of Tampa, Florida, in the cigar-making industry, and,

"Whereas, The Cigar Makers' International Union of America, representing over fifty thousand cigar makers throughout the United States of America, is organized for the betterment of the craft, and,

"Whereas, On the sixteenth day of September, 1910 Castenzo Ficcarotta and Angelico Albano were arrested for the crime of asking their fellow craftsmen to join them in a strike that was on, and,

"Whereas, The said Castenzo Ficcarotta and Angelico Albano were taken to the city jail, and late that night under pretense of being transferred from one jail to another jail, the above men were handcuffed and placed in an automobile in charge of the city police officers, and driven in a round about way down the country road, where they were met by persons coming in the opposite direction in automobiles, and the two prisoners were taken from the automobile and taken to the woods near by and lynched to a tree, and,

"Whereas, The Constitution of the United States of America, and the Constitution of the State of Florida guarantees to every person the right to be secure in his or her person, home and papers against unreasonable searches and seizures, and that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without the due process of law, and,

"Whereas, The above crimes were committed within the State of Florida, therefore be it,

"Resolved, That we, the members of the San Francisco Labor Council, the

Cigar Makers' International Union of America, Local N. 228, and the people in general of the State of California, do hereby petition the Honorable Wm. Howard Taft, President of the United States of America, the Attorney-General of the United States of America, the Attorney-General of the State of Florida, to the Members of Congress from the State of California, and the State of Florida, to immediately investigate this most atrocious crime, and to punish to the full extent of the law the guilty parties; and be it further,

"Resolved, That copies of this petition be sent to our official publications, to the press, to the publications of all International and National labor papers, and to our delegate to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"Done under our hand and seal this twenty-eighth day of October, one thousand nine hundred and ten.

"Respectfully submitted,

"F. Rizzo, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

"E. A. Trembly, United Garment Workers of America.

"R. Baker, Barbers' Union.

"C. I. McKinney, Cigar Makers' Union No. 228.

"Peter Fitzgerald, Press Feeders and Assistants.

"C. Schornfelt, Cigar Makers' Union No. 22.

"Benj. Schonhoff, Typographical Union No. 21.

"Jas. A. Himmel, Electrical Workers No. 151.

"Frank A. O'Brien, Shoe Clerks No. 410.

"Frederick F. Bebergall, Typographical Union No. 21.

"E. J. Robinson, Broom Makers' Union No. 58.

"O. E. Rudquist, Cigar Makers' Union No. 228.

"D. J. Boker, Cigar Makers' Union No. 228.

"Committee on Resolutions, Label Section, San Francisco Labor Council."

ABSOLUTE FACTS.

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 26, 1910.

Sub-local Union No. 1, I. B. of E. W. desires to state that we have not been absorbed by Local Union No. 143, I. A. T. S. E., that we are still in the operating field, that we have increased our membership to twice its original number, all competent men who have passed a rigid examination and who we can highly recommend as superior mechanics

in the moving picture line. We wish to state further that we do not now, or never have, considered a consolidation of Local Union No. 143, I. A. T. S. E. and Sub-local Union No. 1 I. B. of E. W., therefore we emphatically deny that there is any truth in the statement issued by Local Union No. 143, I. A. T. S. E., both by letter and advertising in the Post Dispatch of Sunday, October 23rd. Our headquarters are not in a "club," but in a respectable hotel, the Wellington, 715 Pine St., and we can be found there at any hour.

Thanking you for past favors and hoping that you will pay no attention to unfounded reports circulated by other organizations, we beg to reamin,

Sincerely yours,

Sub-local Union No. 1, I. B. of E. W.

A. Shading, President.

E. D. James, Vice-President.

H. T. Koch, Financial Secretary.

W. L. Jackson, Recording Sec'y.

W. S. Peebles, Business Agent.

Wellington Hotel, 715 Pine St.

Olive 779—General 2077.

LOCAL UNION NO. 680.

Fond du Lac, Wis.

Editor Electrical Worker,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir:—It gives me great pleasure to present to the worker my first letter from local union No. 680 of Fond du Lac, Wis. I shall try to present a letter every month for the worker and keep the brothers well posted on what is going on, in and around Fond du Lac. The brothers will be glad no doubt to hear that we just organized in our city. When Brother Fisher came to our city he called upon most of the tradesmen and they were all ready to respond for roll call. We have thirty charter members, and some good fellows that will come in as soon as we can present the application blank to them. We are going to organize a building council as soon as we can get the plumbers to organize in our city, which I hope will be before next spring. Work in Fond du Lac, has been very brisk this summer, there has been a number of good new buildings going up all summer which kept all the boys working all summer. As for Brother Frank Fisher as an organizer, the boys all like him well, and they know that he understands his business very well. I am not going to take up any more space in the Worker this month, so will be there with a letter prompt next month. With good luck to all brothers, I beg to remain,

Yours fraternally,

Frank Molitor,
Press Secretary, Local 680.

COMPETITION.

By Dr. John Bascom.

Competition is much relied on in political economy—a science which discusses the exchange of products and of services and the principles which give the exchange of safety—as a condition of honest barter. As we all have occasion, in one form or another, to engage in traffic, it becomes desirable for us to know what is meant by competition, and how far it is necessary to reasonable prices. Competition is not a law of trade in the same way that attraction is a law of interaction between physical things. It does not stand for force which must be present and which makes sure of fitting results. It is a law in much the same manner that courtesy is a law of society, tending to correct and soften intercourse. Competition frequently has a favorable influence, but in some cases its results are unfortunate, and it needs to be modified by other methods. Circumstances determine both its fitness and form. An affable and considerate bearing is ordinarily becoming, yet at times it is to be displaced by a curt and decisive manner. Competition is only one of the ways in which men govern their action toward each other. We enter on a brief discussion of competition that we may see more exactly the office which it performs and the limits of its activity. We are not to be urged by competition as if it were the sole rule of production and exchange. We need to know its legitimate function and its suitable time of application, if we are not to have it forced upon us as the constant law of economic intercourse. It must fall into place with other wise and safe conditions, all being judged by their relation to the general welfare. We look to competition, not as the sole regulator of prices, but as often the most ready and just solution of the immediate terms of exchange. We are not willing that others should thrust it aside when it is applicable, nor are we willing that it should be forced upon us when it is not the best expression of existing circumstances.

The primary purpose of competition is to give us reasonable prices, prices most consistent with the interests of buyers and seller and with the general welfare. If it signally fails in any of these respects we then look about for a substitute. Incidentally the price reached by competition may tend to improve the quality of the thing sold and to fit it to the wants of community. Price, as the result of free competition, takes into consideration the interests of all then and there active in exchange and settles them in a way most harmonious, available and complete. It is this easy

adaptability of competition which inclines men so strongly toward it as a universal method. Without it prices are constantly falling into the hands of interested and exacting persons. Exchange in all directions becomes unsafe, and the tyrannical temper prevails. It is not strange, therefore, that we associate competition with safety, and come to think of it as the spontaneously diffused and protective force of the entire community. We have occasion for much caution in this direction and cannot dispense competition with any other method except in distinct view of the public welfare.

Competition arises spontaneously, and its spontaneity is a strong point in its justification. It is this sure presence and ready use which have given it so much favor with economists. The person who can secure more trade and more profits by lowering prices finds favor with the community and is honored for his good judgment. No one suffers by the operation, unless it be the tradesman who, through ignorance, adheres to the old way, and who needs the stimulus of more active persons. If a man will not wake up, we are content that he should be waked up.

Yet even here restraints fittingly come to competition. He who improves the quality of products, or who offers them at lower prices, does it as a means of success, leaving the way open for a like method to be followed by competitors. There is nothing sly or unfair in his proffers; nothing which interferes with enterprise elsewhere. Two qualities belong to fitting competition; it is beneficial to the community and it occasions no reduction of the rights of competitors. One may drive by a slower team overtaken on the highway. The best common use of the road is thus obtained, and if there is no crowding, the advantages of the road are not reduced for him who is left behind. A competitor is at liberty to be progressive, but not to be aggressive. The indolence of one should not deprive another of activity, nor the activity of one interfere with the slow ways of another.

Competition in business is not unlike emulation in schools. A great advantage of contact with others is the stimulus it imparts to all. It may give rise to jealousy, envy, detraction, hatred, but these are only possibilities, not necessary results. Those most emulated may be those most loved. We are not to turn emulation into ill will by prizes unjustly given. Indeed that feeling is likely to be most wholesome which arises spontaneously in the mere presence of excellence. If emulation drives

out good-will, the loss is likely to be greater than the gain. Reasonable competition and reasonable emulation promote improvement and add to the general welfare, though both may become the occasion of dislike and give rise to serious injury. Both are incidental to an active, liberal temper, though both may be so employed as to enhance bad feeling.

Competition is not a universal application. While it plays an important part in business transactions, it may, at times, hide from view much evil. Railroads, built primarily for the public, can use advantageously competition only in a very secondary way. Employed otherwise, it may be as mischievous to the public in reference to primary purposes as the overreaching of the officers of a railroad may be injurious to stockholders. Few business operations need so much watchfulness and so much watching as do railroads. The priority of the claims of the public is expressed in the legal right of way granted to roads, and is at the same time overlooked and forgotten in the eagerness of managers to secure their own interests. A perfect railroad system—and every railroad should be the part of such a system—should yield the largest accommodation to the entire community at the lowest rates; should be made, in every part of it, perfectly accessible for passenger and freight; and should admit no differences or discriminations which are not an inevitable part of the service. The roads should neither be too many nor too few, and should make no proffers or promises directed against other roads. Rivalries enter only to embarrass general service. An advance in one direction is frequently compensated by a loss in another, and roads are turned aside from the strictly concurrent aid they are designed to give to all. We can rely hardly at all on competition as making railroads faithful to their conjoint task. Two railroads, covering the same territory and in vigorous competition, cannot render to the public services and rates which would be possible to one road, with appliances sufficient for the entire traffic. Two roads necessarily involved more expenditure than one road, doing the same business. Two lines of stages cannot carry passengers over the same route as cheaply as can a single line. Every railroad has occasion to study its own problem and reach the most economical conclusion independent of any obstruction from any other road. Railroads are meant to aid the community, to sustain each other, and this, in much the majority of cases, is their true and exclusive office. Railroads which embarrass all transfers of persons and freight are so far working

against the community and against their own welfare. Traffic and intercourse are thereby made less and less convenient under the idea of a narrow advantage of a single road.

The most prominent and the most admissible form of competition lies between through routes, uniting two great commercial centers, the intervening territory being served by a single road lying quite apart from other roads. In reference to through traffic, there is an opportunity for bitter rivalry, and a rivalry which may be attended with great injustice to way stations. The way station, having no other resource, may be compelled by unreasonable rates to endure losses associated with through freight. Railroads are public servants and, if they are to be left in private hands, must be subject to adequate supervision by public officials. They must not be allowed to substitute narrow gains for open and fair conditions offered to all customers. If this equality of transfer cannot be otherwise secured, the public must build and run its own roads, as it builds and keeps open highways. This supervision is the service of the interstate commerce commission. Whenever any occupation is subject to a public claim, that claim cannot be left to competition for enforcement. The public must define and enforce its own rights, or be prepared to sacrifice them. The officers of the public cannot be kept at their tasks by competition. The community must stand back of them, both to support and to control them. Competition may be left to govern what it governs advantageously, and we must look elsewhere for aid when this fails us.—In *The Bricklayer*.

IS THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH GOING BACKWARD?

From *The Telegraphers' Journal*.

This question has been suggested to us repeatedly by the general information received pertaining to the postal's business.

It is surprising to be informed by employees that they were asked by the chiefs if they wished to be relieved for the remainder of the day, at a time when the officials of the Western Union were declaring their force totally inadequate to handle their business.

Another reason which prompts this question is the constant cry of economy which indicates something radically wrong with the business end. Our experience has been that when business is good, the question of saving a few pennies is immaterial; hence, the various petty tricks adopted by this company recently cause a certain amount of wonderment as to the real reason for it. For example,

the practice of letting extra men go with orders to report again in thirty minutes, use them for an hour and telling them to report again in half hour or an hour; the recent attempt at the Chicago office to cut off the 9:00 A. M. men for the day; the overloading of the wires and expecting the men to handle the business by working bonus. These are a few of the reasons why our members ask themselves and ask us about the apparent backward tendency of the Postal Company.

When the American Telegraph and Telephone Company secured control of the Western Union, we predicted a liberal policy for the latter company; increased facilities, elimination of the old regime and the infusion of new blood making such a condition probable. This has been borne out to a very great extent, and we believe will continue.

At that time we called attention to the fact that the new control meant a great deal to the Western Union, in the way of new capital, the use of the Bell telephone wires, and the general re-organization of the Western Union Company; with this we compared the position of the Postal, which appeared to be in a position of being compelled to ally itself with some other force, or lose ground. Now the Postal's employees claim that poor management, worse equipment and wretched treatment of employees is bringing about the latter condition.

In this connection, it is well to recall the basis of the Postal's organization; the old companies which it took over were of little consequence; the facilities of the company were never up to the standard, but a liberal policy towards the employees caused the latter to help make up these deficiencies by extra effort. This policy was continued until the Mackay companies were formed in 1906, which brought new blood into the telegraph business, which did not understand the history of the Postal and how far the employees were responsible for the general development of the company. This new element saw but one thing, namely, the telegraphers were organized and the elimination of the employee's union was the chief aim of the new members of the employer's union.

In order to accomplish this, they inaugurated the "profit-sharing scheme" of inducing the employees to buy stock; forced the repudiation of the agreements entered into with their employees, compelled the retirement of the officials who were liberally disposed, formed an alliance or two, and today they are holding the bag.

The old policy of fair dealing with the employees was abandoned. These officials

felt that they were in a position to discard the prop which had supported them during their growing days and that the employees might be damned so far as they were concerned. The result of this attitude is beginning to tell. For years the Postal played upon the desire of the men to see a formidable rival to the Western Union, and the telegraphers did their part in building up this company, not through love of the officials of the Postal, but through their hatred of the Western Union. Today this feeling of antagonism is directed toward the Postal, and properly so. During the past two years this company has adopted a policy of tyranny, petty dealing and general meanness that would put the worst Cossack of the old regime to shame. New York and Chicago are the chief sufferers of this policy, the extra list in the former city being handled in the cheapest sort of a way.

If the Postal is going backward, there is one predominating reason for it, namely, it no longer can claim the good will of the commercial telegraphers, and we venture to predict that a continuance of their slave-driving tactics will soon alienate the few friends they have left in the service.

What if they should be put out of business? Either government ownership or else the ascendancy of some new company which, relying upon the telegraphers to assist them, would be willing to grant a square deal for a few years at least.

ANY CHUMP CAN KNOCK.

Don't criticise your neighbors' faults, no matter what they do;
Don't ridicule the masses, or malign the chosen few;
Don't think yourself a censor of the silly human flock—
And just remember as you go that any chump can knock.

Don't laugh at those who make mistakes, or stumble by the way,
For you are apt to follow them— and almost any day.
Don't think the other's shifting sand while you are solid rock—
And don't forget, for heaven's sake, That any chump can knock.

Don't be a puller-down of fame on other men conferred;
Don't give a parting kick to one who erred because he erred,
Don't think that you are perfect and the only size in stock—
And now, once more, just bear in mind that any chump can knock!

—Anonymous.